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THE INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE

JANUARY 35c

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WARREN R. AUSTIN
UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Advertising for the UN

The Advertising Council has accomplished many worthwhile objectives since the end of World War II—the outstanding record of what American advertising accomplished during the war needs no elaboration. The success of the War Bond Campaigns, the explanation of shortages and what to do about them, the blood plasma drives, and others are on the record books.

However, I believe that the most important single job that American advertising can do today is to back up the United Nations in an all-out campaign for peace.

American advertising has sold more goods to more people, and more ideas to more people, than any other vehicle in history. If this gigantic machine could be utilized to present the United Nations as the one real hope for enduring peace—to enlist the sympathy, understanding, and support of this country and all countries—I believe it would do more good to help the cause of peace in our time than anything else.

If the United Nations, which is a far better organization in every way than the ill-fated League of Nations, can count on the support of the great masses of people, it will certainly succeed. A half-hearted attempt has been made to sell it editorially in newspapers and magazines, but the majority of people are still very apparently disinterested in it; ignorant of its organization and purpose; or cynical about its potentialities. If every American advertiser devoted a generous portion of his advertising appropriation toward building up this organization into what it can and should be, I have no doubt that the result would be a great step forward in the direction of success—success which will mean the difference between peace and war.

If it doesn't work—then God help us, none of the campaigns we are worrying about at the present time will mean a thing. The United Nations is the best insurance policy for peace that has yet been developed—let's get behind it and do a good job—Let's Win the Peace Too!

DONALD F. HAGGERTY
ASST. ADV. MGR.
REVERE COPPER AND BRASS, INC.

What Happens to Portuguese India?

The day of the Independence of India was celebrated in Goa with great pomp and splendor, in spite of all the restrictions and obstacles on the part of the Portuguese Government here. Thousands of people climbed up the hill to the Indian Consulate to watch the National flag hoisted in the air. More than 10,000 people of all ranks, including Christians and Europeans, gathered and shouted the slogans "Jai Hind" and "Jawaharlal Nehru ki Jai."

RAMACHANDRA SUBRAYA
KAMAT MAMAI
NOVA GOA, PORTUGUESE INDIA

Goa, Daman and Diu are the three component parts of what the Portuguese are pleased to call the Estado de India. *The administration of this area by the Government at Lisbon has been a source of grave concern in India. During the last 20 years there has been a vigorous nationalist movement in Goa, which the Portuguese have attempted to put down with an iron hand. There is neither religious tolerance nor civil liberty in Goa and every attempt is made to repress the natural desire of the people to be rid of foreign domination. The heavy punishments meted to nationalist leaders and the refusal of the Portuguese to recognize the existence of any problem naturally aroused resentment in India; but no one in India has suggested that the legal or juridical rights of Portugal in these territories should be interfered with or challenged. The people of Goa, Daman and Diu should have the right to determine their own future. If they elect to remain under the sovereignty of Portugal, no one will have any complaint. If, on the other hand, they desire to join with their brethren in the Indian Dominion, no claim based on conquest should be allowed to stand in the way.*

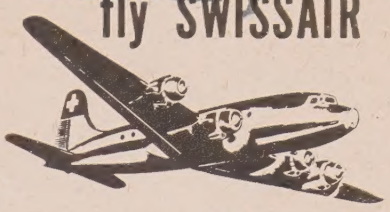
Dr. K. M. Panikkar
Indian Delegation to UN

A General Staff for UN Support

I have been thinking for some time about the problem of restoring and of keeping alive in the minds and hearts of the man and woman in the street, the world over, the interest in and support of the ideals of the UN. These ideals are espoused by many groups. . . . However, these groups deal almost exclusively with their own memberships and to a large extent the lessons taught, by speakers and literature, are given to people who are already convinced. . . .

I have been wondering whether a more satisfactory approach could be made here and in other countries by a committee, in each city or state, headed by a national committee, composed of representatives of each various existing groups and also from the press, radio, churches and educational institutions, which would act as a sort of joint planning staff, first, to coordinate the international relations work of each organization and agency, and second,

fly SWISSAIR



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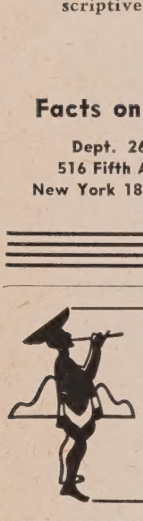

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WORLD MAILBOX *(continued)*

to see that all classes of the public are reached regularly and with more force than is now possible.

RICHARD F. BOYCE
AMERICAN CONSUL GENERAL
MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA

Protest from Iraq

What you say concerning Iraq (regarding non-payment of fees to UN—(UN WORLD, October) is false as you can see from the attached copy of an official letter from the UN:

"22 September 1947

"I wish to convey to you my appreciation of your Government's action in meeting its total obligation in respect of the 1946 and 1947 contributions and effecting the advance of the United Nations Working Capital Fund.

(Signed) "TRYGVE LIE
SECRETARY GENERAL"

I have been asked by the Iraq Delegation to the United Nations General Assembly to draw your attention to the matter and to ask you to publish a denial of your statement concerning Iraq and a retraction of the insinuation made by the cartoon.

MRS. M. F. JAMALI
ALTERNATE DELEGATE OF IRAQ
TO THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The "What In the World!" item referred to by Mrs. Jamali was based on information available at the time of publication. We are glad to report that Iraq is now fully paid up to the UN.—Ed.

Magazine of Distinction

Your readers seem so intent on the contents of UN WORLD that none has taken the trouble to remark on the style and format of an ever-improving magazine. Let me congratulate those responsible for turning out a magazine of distinction.

FREDERICK REINSTEIN
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

"Peacemongering"

I believe in your editorial (UN WORLD, November), "The UN Is Here To Stay" and therefore suggest that you carry a new column: "Peacemongering"—giving each month, in brief, to the member nations (perhaps non-member nations too) space for World - peace - contribution announcements.

EUGENE TURNAI
FLUSHING, N. Y.

To Stalin & Truman

I think you might make a valuable contribution by submitting to top officials of countries concerned the basic questions under dispute: (to Stalin and Truman or Marshall) "In what specific ways could mutual compromise solve the problem of German partition, or control of atomic energy, or any other question where we are at an impasse."

CHARLES WALTON, M.D.
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

The News Reaches B.A.

The news of your new magazine reached Buenos Aires through the announcements in New York papers and advertising publications. I think it is wonderful—and wish you much success.

BERNARD JENNINGS
McCANN-ERICKSON CORPORATION
BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA, S. A.

Cheers for Kent Cooper

Since I am allergic to New Deal hysteria, I was very much pleased (even surprised) at the common-sense presentation of the news of the world in UNW . . . Your article by A.P.'s great chief (Kent Cooper — UN WORLD, September) should be read by every newspaperman in America *and* widely quoted.

BERTRAND L. CHAPMAN
EDITOR AND PUBLISHER
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Unpopular

The State Department is hopeless. The 80th Congress was and is hopeless. President Truman is hopeless. The people of the U. S. are hopeless. This combination of hopelessness is on the way to making the UN hopeless—if it hasn't done so already.

A recent Gallup poll has proven how hopelessly ignorant the people of the U. S. are about the UN. I subscribe to two Church papers, and neither has ever mentioned the work of the UN. The editorial policy of the daily newspapers I read is for the most part coldly indifferent. The only voice boosting the UN is that of the American Legion, and it is boosting UN out of this one world.

MRS. J. R. LAMSON
SIOUX CITY, IOWA

No Torture So Slow

I want to congratulate Ma Ning, author of "Darwin Revised" (UN WORLD, November), on his very clever comment on that thing we label "Hunger." Some of you gentlemen may think Ma Ning exaggerates! Some of you may even smile when you think "exaggeration." You are wrong. There is no torture so slow or so devastating as hunger. If it would not be presumptuous, I should like to send food to Ma Ning.

MRS. KENNETH WATERS
DALLAS, TEXAS

Keep on Coming

I have learned more from reading UN WORLD than anything I have been able to get so far. I like the idea of all there is in it and want it to keep right on coming to me.

S. P. HAWES
PASADENA, CALIFORNIA

100%

I think the new cover, typography, layout and printing represent a well organized and thoughtful revamping job. It shows 100% improvement over recent issues. Congratulations.

W. RICHARD BRUNER
PRINTERS' INK
NEW YORK, N. Y.

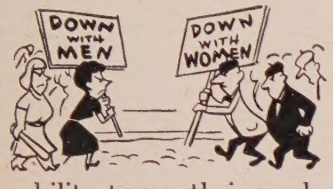
what in the WORLD!

An amazing collection of odds and ends having to do with life and times of humanity in the Atomic Age.

Age-Old Battle

The modest and seemingly peaceful French township of Echigey near the city of Dijon has quite unexpectedly come into international fame. During the municipal elections of October 19 two blocs opposed each other even more savagely than de Gaullists and Communists. It was men vs. women.

In 1945 the women of Echigey, voting for the first time in French history, determined to demonstrate



their ability to use their newly acquired rights and take possession of the municipality. The men of Echigey, as usual, neglected their civic duties and went fishing, hunting or just simply stayed home on Election Day. When they realized what was up, it was too late. The women were in. For two years the men of Echigey had a hard time remaining masters of their homes while their wives were in command at City Hall.

This year, forgetting all personal rivalries and partisan quarrels, they combined in a political union which no other force on earth could have brought about. The men from de Gaullists to Communists unanimously supported a single ticket—an occurrence never before witnessed in French memory—"for the defense of masculine interests."

The City Hall was retaken. But the struggle was hot. Newsreel cameramen barely escaped pitchfork attacks by the embattled local Amazons. The women are plotting revenge, but must wait for the next elections.

Atomic Piles in the North

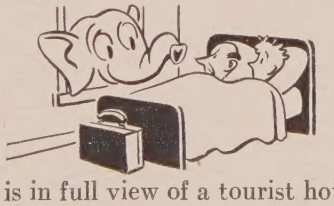
Norway is considering a plan to spend 1,000,000 kronor ($200,000) for the expansion of the physics departments and the purchase of technical equipment for four universities and institutes. This is part of the Norwegian atomic research program. Already, 5,000,000 kr. ($1,000,000) has been granted by the Government to the Ministry of Defense Research Institute for the construction of a uranium pile. Speaking before the Technophysical Research Council, Prof. Sven Rosseland announced that the Atomic Committee—one of the branches of the Council—has collected about $40,000 for scholarships for 24 young Norwegians now studying physics abroad.

125 Foot Gandhi

Now that Indian independence has been achieved, plans are under way for honoring the leaders and heroes of India's freedom. One suggestion has been the erection of a 125 foot bronze statue of Mahatma Gandhi overlooking the Gateway of India in Bombay. The Bombay newspaper *Blitz* stresses the necessity for "immediately organizing the Museum of the National Struggle for Freedom." It suggests that the Government of Bombay take over the G. T. Hostel, where the Indian National Congress held its first sessions, and collect in this building all the documents which are "precious landmarks of our freedom's pilgrimage."

Elephants from the Window

Tourists to Uganda can see all the elephants and buffaloes they want without leaving the safety of their hotel. The Lake Edward Game Reserve on which the animals roam at will, free from hunt-



ers, is in full view of a tourist hotel. Although twenty-four years of big-game hunting have reduced the supply of elephants in Uganda, game authorities say they are still plentiful. An average of 1,035 Uganda elephants were killed annually from 1940 to 1946.

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UNITED NATIONS WORLD is the first truly international magazine, and in that respect alone it is unique.

Other magazines, to be sure, including the foreign editions of *Reader's Digest, Time, Newsweek,* and *Life,* have a substantial circulation abroad. But all these magazines are edited from an American point of view and are exported to people who want to read American publications edited from an American point of view.

UNITED NATIONS WORLD, however, is different. It is edited solely from the standpoint of world entity. Hence its point of view is global; likewise its readership. Its 85,000 subscribers are almost entirely composed of internationally-minded persons who are eager to show their loyalty to the principles of United Nations and eager to keep in step with the progress of what has been well called, "the most important political fact of all time."

Editorial Policy of UNW

The UNITED NATIONS WORLD is privately owned and completely independent of any official connection with the United Nations itself. Yet the magazine supports the United Nations as the only present hope of attaining world cooperation. It recognizes that the United Nations is not a perfect instrument. But its editors and a majority of its readers feel that the United Nations may well be the last chance to secure—for all nations—and all peoples—that permanent peace which must be achieved if the human race is to survive. Hence, the magazine remains free to suggest or support constructive measures to strengthen the United Nations organization, to point out its weaknesses and to praise its accomplishments. It avoids taking sides on controversial national questions except as they affect the overall global scene.

UNW Is Exciting Reading

UNITED NATIONS WORLD is authoritative. Its editors and contributors speak from a wide knowledge of world affairs. They are recognized experts, well-trained to observe, report and analyze. Editorial and news matter deal with politics, economics, science, the press, sports, movies, the theater, books, radio—in fact any subject of international interest and importance.

UNW Is Widely Quoted

As a fountainhead of accurate information on every phase of internationalism, UNW is every month extensively quoted by important United States publications and radio commentators, it is constantly used by the news services and is freely acknowledged as important source material by members of Congress, government officials, educators and leaders of opinion, both local and national. And among the members of the Secretariat and delegations to the UN, the magazine is considered official reading.

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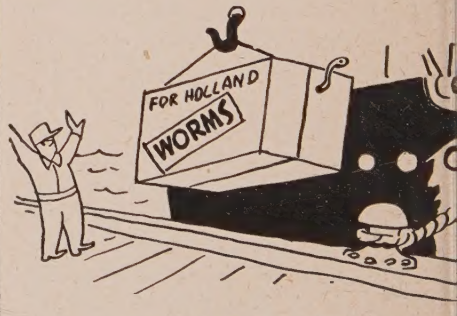
Shortages

A "severe shortage" of elephants and buffaloes is hampering Burma's vital teak industry. During the war the Japanese used up all the accumulated teakwood logs and wrecked the big sawmills in Rangoon and Moulmein, but the magnificent

hardwood forests are almost intact. In unmechanized Burma, only well-trained elephants—or at a pinch, buffaloes—can move the huge teak logs out of the forest.

Hands across the seas—zoologically speaking—were extended by Greenland, Norway and Argentina. Eight musk-ox were shipped from northeast Greenland to Norway, to replenish the herds killed off by the Germans during the Invasion. And from Norway, went 20 head of reindeer (in time for Christmas, maybe?) to the Patagonian area of Argentina. Leaves and moss—the deer's favorite diet—were sent along to feed the animals until they get used to their new fare. Then they and their progeny will provide food and hides for the needy.

Earthworms bred in British Columbia will help remove the sea salt from Dutch fields and restore



their former fertility. They will take the place of the millions of Dutch earthworms that were destroyed by war bombing and breaching of the dikes to flood the land with salt water, particularly around Walcherin. A dealer in Burnaby, B.C., who has made his first shipment, hopes eventually to send over four million worms.

White Collars and Long Pants

There's a rumor in Bangkok, Siam, that the government may soon issue a decree ordering its employees to appear in their offices in full length trousers, coat, shirt,

collar and tie. Sports shirts and shorts, favorite costume of Bangkok white collar workers, may soon be banned. An irate Siamese complained to a local newspaper that this decree is proposed because the government doesn't want to be stuck with the quantities of men's suits it has imported from the United States! Gazing wistfully at India, Burma, Malaya and China where shorts still rule, the Bangkok columnist protests that the Siamese Government, despite the heat, is planning to make things still hotter.

More Power to Britain

Britain has launched a giant program of electric power development. The first of a chain of generating plants has been opened at Meaford. The four great dynamos in the new plant will produce 120,000 kilowatts to serve the northwest midlands section of England. It is planned to sink a special colliery nearby to bring coal from the vein by mechanical conveyors and feed it directly into the furnaces. The Electricity Commissioners plan to build 31 additional generating plants to provide 10,000,000 more kilowatts to meet Britain's increased industrial and domestic needs. Last year's output was 41,000,000,000 kilowatts.

Strike Up the Band

Avesta, an iron and mining town in north central Sweden, loves its music. It boasts five large choirs, a band, two boys' bands and 500 active amateur musicians. Avesta's symphony orchestra recently celebrated its 25th anniversary with a concert in Stockholm's Royal Academy of Music. The members are mill workers, office clerks, machine shop hands and mining engineers. Avesta also offers musical training to all children after school hours.

Missionary Bargain

Liberia has 26 boards of foreign missions working within its territory. There are 252 missionaries registered with the Department of Public Instruction. The Liberian Government allows goods for missionary work to enter the country duty free, and the missionaries do not pay the usual residence permit. The missions operate 61 schools in Liberia, as compared to the Government's 75.

Waterproof Wax

The United States is Brazil's chief customer for carnaúba wax, with the United Kingdom and the Union of South Africa in second and third places. The carnaúba tree grows only in the hot and dry area of northeastern Brazil. The wax is the product of this tree's efforts to make itself proof against evaporation and thus save water. It is used in varnishes, leather processing, phonograph records and soap making.

Sudanese Cinema

The Sudan is the proud possessor of five mobile movie units, showing 16 mm. films throughout the country. Two of the units have been sent from Egypt, two are managed by the Public Works Department in Khartoum and another by the Public Relations Office. One of the units showing health and hygiene films has been installed on the hospital ship *Lady Baker* and will cover districts in Southern Sudan which are inaccessible by road. About 300 films have been shown since the beginning of the year to an audience totaling 200,000.

Columbus, Cervantes, Peron & Co.

A new national holiday, October 17, was added to Argentina's calendar this year. It commemorates the rise to power of Argentina's president Juan D. Perón in 1945, and is known as "Loyalty Day" or "Day of the Liberation." A recently launched pro-Perón publication, *En Guardia*, pointed out that October is the month which has contributed most to the Spanish-American world: It produced Christopher Columbus, Cervantes and Juan D. Perón. "These three great men of America," the paper continued, "possess one spirit, one heart, one language."

THE FOREIGN CLUB

"Following World War II the story of mankind upon this planet is undergoing a change of phase. It is broadening out. It is unifying. It is ceasing to be a tangle of more and more inter-related histories and is becoming plainly and consciously one history. There is a complete confluence of racial, social and political destinies. With that a vision of previously unsuspected possibilities opens to the human imagination, and that vision brings with it an immense readjustment of ideas, understandings and friendships. The Foreign Club is developing the vision of collective social union and its members recognize the club is significant regarding human relationships, irrespective of distance, race or religion. We all enjoy the rights of contact in friendship through the mission of The Foreign Club."

The above quotation from a member in Shanghai typifies the work of our organization: INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP THROUGH INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING, which we believe can be made a reality through acquainting the peoples of all countries.

You are cordially invited to learn more about our organization by accepting without charge a copy of "Introducing The Foreign Club," which may be obtained by writing to our new address:

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THE
United
Nations

By LOUIS DOLIVET
editor of UNITED NATIONS WORLD
Preface by TRYGVE LIE

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Anthropology in James Bay

Two Canadian anthropologists are living with an Indian tribe in the remote James Bay area to collect data on their living conditions, eating habits and health. More than 700 Indians have had dental examinations and about 500 have been checked for tuberculosis with a portable X-ray plant. James Bay is located at the base of Hudson Bay. The health check-ups and anthropological studies are being conducted by a committee of doctors and scientists from Canadian universities.

Standing in Line for the Dictator

Standing in line is a familiar part of the postwar scene everywhere—especially in Europe. But Prague's longest queue was reported recently. It didn't lead up to a grocery store—but to the box office of the theatre where Charlie Chaplin's 1945 movie, "The Great Dictator," is showing.

Dostoievsky Straddles the Atlantic

One of Russia's greatest novelists — Feodor Dostoievsky — is a popular author these days. In New York, John Gielgud is starring as Raskolinkov in his production of "Crime and Punishment." On the other side of the Atlantic, French producers, under the direction of Michel Koustoff, are starting work on a new cinematic version of "Crime and Punishment"—in technicolor.

How Long is "Long"?

Even in Paris, home of the "new look," opinion isn't unanimous on this most controversial fashion ex-

port. French couturiers are hotly divided on how long skirts should be. They range from Christian Dior, papa of longer skirts, who says seven inches from the floor is "très chic"—to the venerable Worth and Maggy Rouff who hold the line at a conservative 13.7 inches.

New Shaw Show

G. B. Shaw has written a new play. It will be first produced at the Malvern Festival—which is to George Bernard Shaw what the Stratford-on-Avon Festival is to

Shakespeare. The festival was started in 1929 to honor the great British dramatist, but was discontinued during the war. The Festival will reopen July 24 on Shaw's birthday and continue for six weeks with a different play every night.

China's School Shortage

More than ½ of China's children are not going to school according to statistics recently compiled. Of the more than 76 million children between the ages of six and 12, only 18 million are attending school. Twelve million are either being educated privately or have been suspended from school. Only 10 per cent of the children in school are in normal health. Fifty per cent suffer from malnutrition and 80 per cent from trachoma. Only 6,870 of the 624,805 Chinese primary school teachers are college or university graduates. Seventy per cent of the teachers are unqualified for their positions by U.S. standards.

Sweet Shipments

Brazil is exporting large amounts of sugar from its surplus stocks, now that its domestic market is well supplied. The states of Alagoas and Pernambuco have shipped over 43,296 tons to Uruguay, Argentina and Portugal valued at over $7,690,829. The domestic price of sugar is not affected by these exports which are allowed from surpluses determined by government surveys.

Marshall Plan for Tourists

American tourists could contribute $14,000,000,000 to long-range European and Asia recovery—so says the American Express Company. During the years between World Wars I and II, American tourists were the U.S.'s biggest exports, bringing $400,000,000 in dollar revenues into foreign countries. Of the 1929 national income of $87,400,000,000, almost $700,000,000 was spent on travel.

Professional Doubting Thomas

Dr. François Leuret isn't from Missouri—he's from Lourdes, France, but he has to be shown anyway. His job is to make sure that the miraculous cures effected at the famous Lourdes Shrine *are* "miracles" and not fakes. Appointed to this position by the Catholic Church, Dr. Leuret demands proof for each cure and keeps dossiers on the previous medical histories of sufferers who claim they were cured by their visit to the Shrine. Visiting doctors, Catholic or not, may examine these dossiers in Dr. Leuret's office located a stone's throw from the Grotto. About 1,000,000 people journey to the Lourdes Shrine annually.

Air-Borne Ark

Transoceanic trips for animals are becoming commonplace affairs. Recent experiments show that dogs are excellent flyers and can stand altitudes up to 28,000 feet. Cats are comfortable only up to 24,000 but chickens are unhappy unless the ceiling stays around 17,000

feet. The lobster, even though wrapped in wet hemp sacking, is a very sensitive fellow to high altitudes; he just doesn't seem to like airplanes at all.

Irrigation by Sun Power

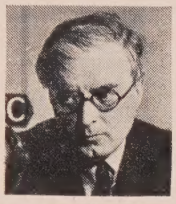
From India, comes word of a novel scheme to harness the sun. The process, developed by Dean Saidman, director of the Institute of Actinology in Paris, could convert sea water into fresh water to be used in the irrigation of the desert region of Rajputana, Kathiawar and Sind. The "solarium" idea is to raise the temperature of sea water to the boiling point, then reconvert the vapor into pure, distilled water. The water will be transported inland by large pipes. Dr. Saidman believes that his scheme can be put to work on a large scale within ten years. His first "solarium" was successfully operated in 1927 at a tuberculosis sanatorium in Jamnagar.

introductions

ROBERT P. PATTERSON.....*author of "The Marshall Plan," P. 17*

Secretary of War during World War II, Judge Patterson has a long record of public service dating back to 1930 when he sat in the U.S. Court of Appeals. He served as a major in the first World War, winning the D.S.C. for heroism in action. Now returned to private law practice in New York, he is chairman of the Executive Board of the Committee for the Marshall Plan.

D. W. BROGAN.....*author of "The British Shed No Tears," P. 22*



Educated at Glasgow, Oxford and Harvard Universities, with a specialty in American History, Professor Brogan has taught at London School of Economics and Cambridge University. He is the advisor to the British Broadcasting Corp. on American current history, and his two brilliant books, "The American Character" and "The English People" are world famous.

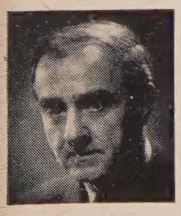
ILES BRODY.....*author of "Home Was Never Like This!" P. 18*

A *bon vivant*, world-famous gourmet and authority on horses, Brody claims he is "a vagabond who has lived in hotels almost since infancy in many countries on several continents." A true internationalist, this Hungarian writer lives in a house with his American child, Maltese dog, Chinese cook, Russian secretary, English-victorian furniture and Sanskrit dictionary.

DEVERE ALLEN.....*author of "Eire Wants In," P. 43*

Mr. Allen is Editor-in-Chief of Worldover Press, a news agency he founded some fourteen years ago as a non-profit, educational service, specializing in international affairs. At present he is in Europe collecting information and carrying on the work of the agency. He has travelled extensively, has published three books and co-authored many others on world-wide affairs.

LAJOS ZILAHY.....*author of "Manifesto for Free Men," P. 11*



The books of Zilahy, Hungary's leading novelist, have been translated into every European language, and it is expected that his forthcoming work *Ararat*, when it appears in New York in 1948, will be a best-seller. Although Zilahy has tried to keep out of politics in his books, he possesses not only a great literary style but a keen and warm understanding of human values.

EVELYN G. KESSEL.....*author of "Unpolitically Speaking," P. 48*

The author of UNW's highly popular feature, in addition to being an accomplished writer, having appeared in the *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, London *Sunday Referee*, and many other publications both in the U.S. and in Europe, is a lady of rare charm and grooming. Her versatility in languages makes her a favorite among her vast array of UN friends.

Norman Cousins, Saturday Review of Literature, says: "It is a real hit. It is graphic, precise, effective."

HOW TO THINK about the UNITED NATIONS

WHETHER the United Nations succeeds or fails depends greatly upon whether it is properly understood, vigilantly watched, and properly encouraged — or intelligently criticized. Yet, surveys reveal that *few* understand the real purposes of the United Nations, and *most* have no real idea about whether it is succeeding or failing — or why.

Because many intelligent Americans want to have dependable standards of judgment about the United Nations, a group of experts asked themselves: *How can we tell the people what to look for, and what to expect?* Out of this grew the fascinating booklet, HOW TO THINK ABOUT THE UNITED NATIONS, by *Fred Smith*, which authorities and average readers alike hail as "the most helpful thing we've seen."

It tells you how to ascertain, from day-to-day newspaper reports, *who* is at fault when there is a disagreement; *which* nations are breaking international laws and agreements; *why* violent battles at the United Nations are a sign of health rather than disintegration; *what* you can honestly expect from the United Nations — and *how* you can help achieve these expectations.

This down-to-earth, common sense handbook, amusingly illustrated by the Swiss artist, Kelly Oeschli, will help bring you comfort and peace of mind — will fortify you against "World War III jitters" when you read your daily newspaper. To secure the widest possible distribution of this book, it is priced to just cover production and handling charges, and is printed in a size that can be enclosed in a regular envelope. Read it — and mail extra copies to friends who do not understand the United Nations and are losing sleep over "World War No. 3." Send the coupon below with your remittance.

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Who Were the Outstanding UN Delegates?

During the Second Session of the UN General Assembly, over 700 top diplomats of the world fearlessly exposed themselves to the photographic lens of public opinion. They were scrutinized and appraised by the thousands of visitors who went to Flushing Meadow and Lake Success in person to watch diplomacy in action. Additional millions watched them through the eyes of newspapermen and radio reporters. There was still another tribunal before which they had to appear —their own community of world diplomats.

In a somewhat undiplomatic attempt to reflect the verdict, UNW decided to conduct an informal poll among diplomats and newspapermen who attended the session of the Assembly and to select the leaders in accomplishment.

When the votes were in and tabulated, we felt that an honest mirror was held up to diplomacy, and to the men whom it created in its own image.

★

★ The delegate who made the greatest single contribution to UN:
WARREN R. AUSTIN, United States, whose untiring efforts at the head of the Committee on Headquarters made the UN's own Manhattan Project a success

★ The hardest working delegate:
LESTER B. PEARSON, Canada, whose tact and skill were invaluable in providing a UN solution to the age-old Palestine problem

★ The most taciturn delegate:
YVON DELBOS, France, whose silence on major issues was symbolic of the back seat France insists on occupying in the world forum

★ The most loquacious delegate:
CARLOS P. ROMULO, Philippines, who had something to say on all issues and usually said it very well

★ The most disappointed delegate:
MRS. VIJAYA LAKASHMI PANDIT whose work on behalf of Indians in South Africa was frustrated in the G. A.

★ The delegate most other delegates listened to:
ANDREI A. VISHINSKY, USSR, whose speeches filled whatever hall he was speaking in and provoked the biggest headlines in the world press

★ The delegate most *Russian* delegates listened to:
PROFESSOR BORIS STEIN, USSR, whose advice was eagerly sought by his colleagues occupying the front seats at conference tables

★ The most conciliatory Russian:
SEMEON K. TSARAPKIN, USSR, whose willingness to compromise on the Palestine problem provided the rare but welcome spectacle of Russo-American diplomatic cooperation

★ The best speaker:
ADOLFO TEJERA, Uruguay, whose talks, delivered in the great tradition of Latin oratory, gave hope and confidence to his fellow delegates

★ The best-dressed Delegate.
H. G. LAWRENCE, South Africa, whose impeccable diplomatic attire provided the only striped pants reminiscent of the "uniform" once popular at international conferences

★ The most claustrophobic delegate:
JAN MASARYK, Czechoslovakia, whose squeezed-in position between the east and the west was evident in this General Assembly

★ The most polite delegate:
RICHARD BERGSTROM, Sweden, who was most meticulous in observing the parliamentary forms of international conferences and bowed to the chair eleven times during a fifteen minute session of the General Assembly

★ The most patient delegate:
MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, whose four-hour long debate with the Soviet delegation in the Third Committee tested the patience of everybody but Mrs. Roosevelt

★ The wittiest delegate:
SIR CARL BERENDSEN, New Zealand, whose undiplomatic quips in the Trusteeship Committee gave the impression that diplomacy is fun

★ The most fiery orator:
DR. ALES BEBLER, Yugoslavia, whose speeches were considered original contributions to the question of human rights even by those who usually disagreed with his reasoning

★ The fiercest-looking delegate:
PRINCE SEIF EL ISLAM ABDULLAH, Yemen, who wore a two-foot long gold dagger in a broad belt over his abdomen

★ The delegates whose absence was most keenly felt:
GEORGE C. MARSHALL, United States, and VYACHESLAV M. MOLOTOV, USSR

UN WORLD

THE INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE

Vol. 1 No. 11

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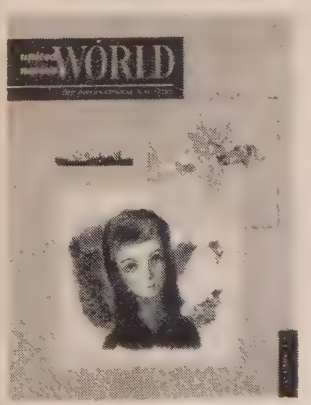

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THE WORLD AT YOUR DOOR

Side-stepping and by-passing are popular sports these days. Not only with politicians. The ordinary citizen finds anything the easiest refuge from threats of disaster massing like thunderheads on the horizon. What can so small a mite do to help dissipate the storm?

In the May issue of United Nations World, John Hersey gives a few practical alternatives to apathy. Start with the United Nations, he says. It's all there is to start with in the way of international organization. Know exactly what it is. Read the Charter. Join a group devoted to the study of world organization—like the American Association for the United Nations, the Peoples Section, or United World Federalists.

Keep well informed. Study and advocate improvements in the U.N. organization. Have a program for U. N. Observance and may employ it to combat the Marshall Plan today, with no little fanfare, but which discovered in 1939. Its otsk, which rivals

Keep well informed. Study and advocate improvements in the U.N. organization. Have a program for U. N. Observance and may employ it to combat the Marshall Plan today, with no little fanfare, but which discovered in 1939. Its otsk, which rivals

serve the delegates to U.N. Proselytize. Think. Have courage. There are excellent books to help one understand the problem of world government. There are other people

By LAJOS ZILAHY

Manifesto for Free Men

It is hard to explain why Lajos Zilahy, Hungary's leading novelist, has not acquired an American reputation to match his European fame. His books have been translated into every European language, and in Spain and Italy he is the most popular of all foreign authors. In America, by contrast, only two of Zilahy's nine novels have appeared and only two of his nineteen plays have had Broadway production.

The lag in Zilahy's American reputation is likely to be quickly overcome when his great work in progress, entitled Ararat, *appears in New York in the fall of 1948. This novel, a study on a broad scale of the decay of European aristocracy between the two world wars, is in the massive tradition of the epic novel.*

From the age of sixteen when he first published poems, Zilahy has served literature and abstained from politics. He has, however, consistently by action and by his pen attacked the folly of war and he has been a foe of materialistic living.

A few years ago Zilahy disposed of most of his fortune by a grant to the state in Hungary for the foundation of an educational institute. This institute was to train men in the service of humanity, of world peace, and of the highest spiritual ideals. Moreover, his grant applies to his future income as a writer, of which he intends to reserve only enough to ensure a modest living.

A complex man is Lajos Zilahy—a boulevardier in manner, a crusader in his heart, an artist in his attitude toward the world—a literary genius.

THE EDITORS

THE truly free man—the legendary figure who still clings to the words of Buddha, Jesus, Marcus Aurelius, Goethe, or Abraham Lincoln—is in great jeopardy today. He is considered untrustworthy by the fanatics of both the Right and the Left. While his basic tastes and beliefs are thus being assaulted, he hides in the air raid shelter of his conscience. In his reaction to the attack I can find nothing but pessimism, resignation and despair. Indeed, H. G. Wells was right when he said that the man of reason is rarely willing to take up the cudgels against the man of force. In the course of history this attitude has generally made him weak and even cowardly—in many instances fawning and servile.

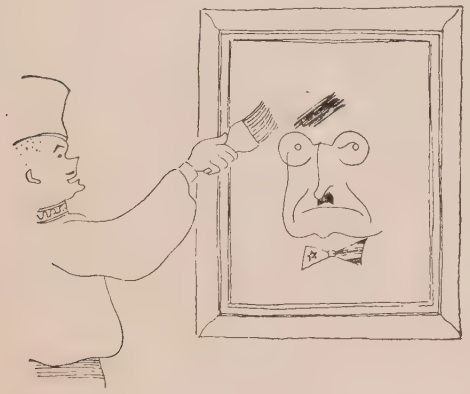
I take pride in thinking I am a free man. Yet often I fall into despair at the cowardice I find in myself. Examples are easy to find—it is easy to discover an echo of the world's conflicting forces in everyday occurrences and in one's self.

In the early Thirties, during a long stay in the United States, a girl whom I shall call Margaret was our only "servant." This meant that we took turns at wielding the soup ladle (none of us knew much about cooking) and went to the movies together. Margaret was the personification of the American working-girl—self-reliant, cheerful and good-looking.

When we returned to Hungary, my wife and I kept up correspondence with her until it was stopped by the war. During the terrifying hours of American carpet-bombing we thought of Margaret. For us she meant consolation and forgiveness. Margaret's white apron and unskilled soup ladle descended to us in the air-raid shelter from the thundering sky not only as the memory of a gay friendship, but as the hope of mankind's future.

Margaret was married long before the war. Now that we are again in New York my wife wants keenly to visit her—for it is difficult to restrain women from

their passion for showing off their children to each other. I, however, stand firm against the temptation to visit Margaret, because before receiving my visa I had to take an oath before the American Consul in Budapest that I was not connected with any Communist organization. On the basis of Margaret's former letters, I am not at all sure that her husband does not belong to the American Communist Party. Margaret awaits us in vain. I am a coward.

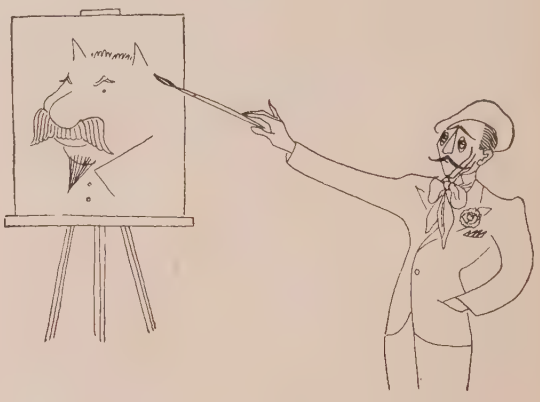


AMONG the Hungarian statesmen now in the United States, because their views differ from those of the Communist members of the government, I have many old friends. But if, while walking the streets of New York, I should chance to see one of them, I would quickly turn aside, even though it isn't likely that our conversation would go beyond recommending to each other Hungarian restaurants where good stuffed cabbage can be had. But who would take my word for this on my return, when, as it happens, one of the papers of the Left already finds my trip to the United States highly suspicious and accuses me of being a Fascist? I shall not meet the Hungarian statesmen in America. I am a coward. My isolation grows dangerously.

Last year I was lecturing in New York. What could substantiate my cowardice better than the fact that I subjected myself to voluntary censorship? My board of censors, consisting of a university professor, an editor, a doctor and a diplomat, were unable to agree. There were sentences in my talk emphasizing the loyalty and love of culture of the Russian soldier and praising Soviet writers and artists. Two men were in favor of deleting them on the grounds that they might provoke a demonstration on the part of the audience. The other two thought I ought to retain them. I had to decide. To this day I don't know where I got the reckless courage: I included the sentences in my speech. The audience remained calm. There was no commotion except that certain Hungarian-American journals attacked me as a traitor and a paid Russian agent.

The attacks were not entirely without foundation. My conscience troubled me a little, because I had received on my departure a gift of some Russian cigarettes from the Soviet Cultural Attaché. Under the influence of the attacks I almost became the victim of nicotine poisoning, since I made it my business speedily to smoke up all the cigarettes, thinking that if these boxes with their cyrillic lettering were found in my possession I might get into trouble. My cowardice was inexcusable and ridiculous.

Well, that is the fate of a free man. I suspect that the fate of free men in other parts of the world resembles mine. We console ourselves by saying that the fault is in the circumstances—not in us.



This isn't true. The fault is ours. The hate and suspicion of the fanatics of the Right and of the Left have made us cowards! They demand that we take an open stand. With the voice of policemen they cry: "Search him!" And if we accede to their demands they regard our prayers, love of peace and humanitarian leanings as skeleton keys and burglar's tools. Our honor in the world has been mislaid somewhere.

THE events of the past years have shown that the four fields of spiritual activity: religion, science, literature and art have only partly remained free of fanaticism. In recent days the situation has not improved. Let me mention two examples. After the liberation, the Soviet writer Boris Gorbatov visited Budapest. In this strong stocky man I came to know a calm, contemplative spirit. Yet this is the same Gorbatov who compared Truman to Hitler.

Concurrently, Adolphe Menjou in the course of the sensational Hollywood investigation levelled the most serious personal accusations at Stalin. I very much doubt whether world opinion had expected to hear such deep-throated charges from its literary and artistic songbirds. These accusations, we know well, were based only on gossip or hastily drawn conclusions. We cannot regard their authors as free men since they are slaves to fanaticism, though this fact does not necessarily detract from their literary or artistic merits.

Let me now try to define the concept of a free man. First, a free man may not belong to any political party, for party discipline fetters the soul. Second, a free man must not express either approval or disapproval of existing political systems. By so doing he loses his perspective and balanced judgment. Third, there is as yet no organized group behind free men, because they do not strive for political power.

The conditions seem to limit alarmingly the concept of the free man. This, however, is only an illusion. If

the fanatics should ask me what justification there is for the existence of the free man and what vital message he can deliver in these times, I can answer them.

To justify his existence we must investigate the state of mind of the two billion inhabitants of the earth. This is, of course, no easy task, but with the help of *inductive* thought we can from single components postulate the whole. Do we possess reliable statistics indicating to what degree mankind is fanatical in one

or another direction? There are no such statistics to be had and there can be none. Where observable fanaticism exists, we know that, to a great degree, it has been artificially created. Many of us have often wondered what might have been the result of a poll taken in 1939 among German mothers, workers and men in the street. If a general referendum could have been conducted without propaganda and terrorization, would they have elected to follow Hitler along the road of total destruction? With regard to the unfortunate people of Hungary I can answer much more decidedly.

Somehow it is like this all over the world. Behind the artificially created din of the minority is the moving silence of the masses resembling that of a child without power of speech. I do not wish to minimize the history-making power of fanaticism or even, in some cases, its good faith. But the fanatics must equally acknowledge the rights of the free man.

It is beyond doubt that the greatest historic progress will come from the free man. The startling developments of recent years, however, have fatally snapped the thread of historical laws and precedents. Scenes such as those that occurred when Godfrey de Bouillon's crusaders captured the Holy Sepulchre and with inspired devotion clasped together in prayer hands still dripping with blood, or even the fanaticism of Hitler's Germany were not, as we have seen manifestations sweeping enough to threaten mankind with total destruction. But atomic energy and the possibilities of bacteriological warfare have put another face on the matter. There are still fanatics, however, who are blind to these implications.

It is plain that in the world of today pessimism and men's fear of each other have taken on dangerous proportions. I know of no spiritual movement willing to face this danger. On the contrary, religion, literature and science have been plunging the world into even deeper pessimism.

For the consolation of mankind only science remains, keeps its plans and hopes in its refrigerator of caution. In contrast to politics it promises less than what it is able to perform. Its accomplishments come as surprises. Scientists ten years ago held the opinion that the day of atomic energy was far distant. We cannot reproach them for their methods, because fantastic achievements lie not in the realm of faith but depend on absolute proof. We can, however, accuse them of being miserly in their reassurances.

The panicky fear that men have of each other can be traced to simple causes. History teaches us that the fanatics shamefully defame their opponents and, since they have the loudest voices, all mankind seems degenerate and ripe for destruction. The modern press plays a tremendously important role in undermining people's self-confidence. Any hold-up makes the headlines, while the fact that millions of honest men live profitable lives in happy family circles remains a secret. We give men a distorted and false picture of themselves.

It isn't true that the world's material and spiritual resources are impoverished. It is up to the scientists to give us an objective view of our material resources and the outlook for peaceful planning. The world isn't made up of uranium deposits. There exist also vast reserves of men of goodwill. Religion, literature and art must reveal to the world its spiritual resources.

Freedom can be restored to men who have been intimidated only by liberating them from their isolation. This movement should start from America where the greatest number of free men live.

In addition to the gift parcels with powdered milk and chewing gum which the United States is now sending to Europe, the free men of America should also send some mental dextrose to those free men of the world who are suffering from an increasing psychological poverty in this political and emotional crisis. They should send them a message—a message that they are not alone.

I appear in this matter as a Central European witness to state that even in countries such as Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Rumania there are still free men of great gift in the fields of religion, science, literature and art.

We live in a world which has recognized the advantages of association in every field. There are such organizations as a society for the propagation of Angora rabbits and a Fat Man's Club for men weighing over 200 pounds. Free men alone have no international organization.

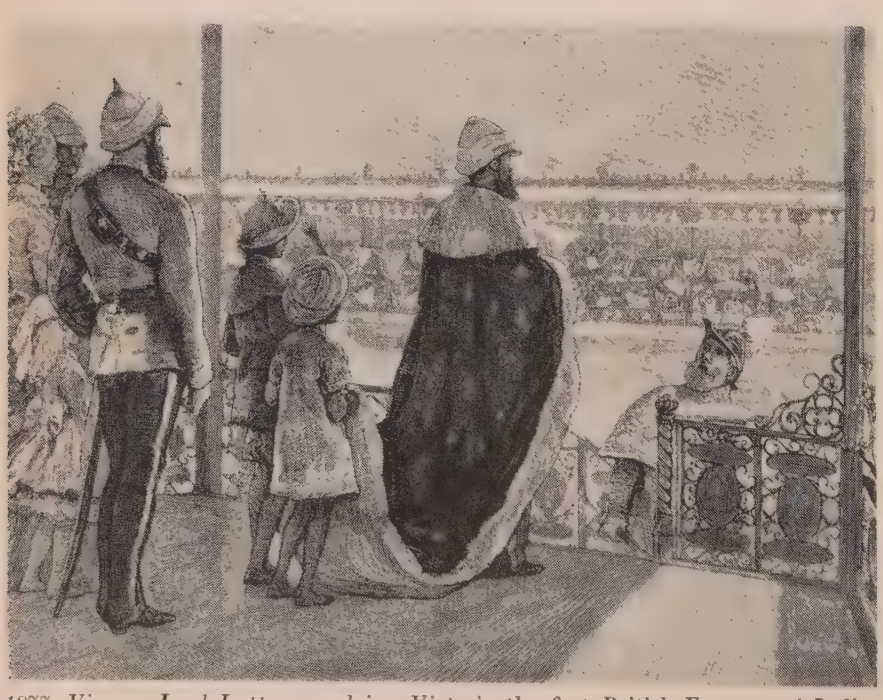
The attitude of the free man seems to confirm Wells' unfavorable judgment. If he continues in this direction, his cowardice and inactivity will bring him the fate he deserves. The fanatics will blow him aside like a wisp of straw.

The British Shed No Tears For Their Lost Empire

But the rest of the world may face serious problems because of the dissolution of the empire run by "the nation of shopkeepers."

—BY D. W. BROGAN—
Noted British Historian and Author

THERE are in history institutions and peoples whose role is that of providing the material or spiritual resources for unity or, at any rate, for common dealing. In the modern world that has been especially the role of the English and when we think of that role in the past, the famous pejorative description of them as a "nation of shopkeepers" takes on another color. They were a nation of shopkeepers; they were interested in providing or utilizing the means the world provided for making life safe and profitable for shopkeepers—and others. And in the nineteenth century, the progress of English prosperity was in close association with the spread of a general political and economic religion of all sensible men. The Bank of England, free trade, parliamentary government, all increased their range of influence together. And the English looked on what was largely their work—and their profit—and found it good.



1877: Viceroy Lord Lytton proclaims Victoria the first British Empress of India.

It is natural enough, today, when this world situation has changed, to take pretty calmly the decline in the favored historical position of England. If the spread of English ideas, practices and profits has ceased, why worry—unless you are English. But some considerations might be recalled to the minds of spectators of this historical change. The first is that the English contribution to the world or exploitation of the world, was not merely Carthaginian. England contributed more than machines or cotton piece goods. She contributed ideas and what may be called cultural artifacts, like the international language of commerce and of more than commerce. She introduced the machine age into Bengal and suppressed *suttee*. However mixed the motives, the withdrawal from the world scene of the countrymen of Cobden, Watt, Herbert Spencer and Darwin would be an event of great interest.

It would be today (if it happened) an event of sinister interest. For it would reflect the despair or

the fatigue of the most experienced, internationally-minded nation. Even if it reflected no more than a decision that there was no longer any serious profit in it for the nation of shopkeepers, that would be news—and bad news. For if they shut up their international shop, there is no proof or even evident probability that anyone else will take their place. That is not to say that there will be no more international marketing of material and spiritual goods but it will not or need not be done by shopkeepers. For the shopkeeper has to work on the principle that the customer is always right. The monopolist who, for any reason, wishes to market his material or spiritual goods can fall back on "you'll like it or else."

ONCE or twice in their tough island story, the English have been strong enough to take that line. (A historically minded Chinese could think of instances.) But fortunately for them and the world, such temptations have been rare and profits, safety, stability of English society have come in the past from a keen if not wholly conscious appreciation of what the traffic will bear and an acceptance of the fact that you get more milk from contented cows. So if the English are shutting up shop it shows something important—and depressing—about the world or about England or both.

It is highly improbable that the English are, in fact, shutting up shop. Their enlightened self-interest in the external world is as acute as ever. But it is probably not as universal as ever. And here it must be stressed that the English were always rational and, except in brief spells, pretty immune to mere rhetorical, patriotic emotion. Of course, as far as England and its recognizable extensions were concerned, they were profoundly patriotic. But the enthusiasm of the mass of English people for the Empire was always exaggerated. The assertion that trade followed the flag was disbelieved—partly because it was untrue. The view that the man-in-the-street felt more attached to his fellow subject from the Punjab than to the misguided citizen of Ohio was a fiction. So there is a real danger that the world may overestimate the importance of the most visible sign of imperial boredom and resignation. The British are bored with their external obligations which does not for a moment mean that they are bored by their obligations to themselves. The world weariness of the English at the moment is admirably illustrated by the general attitude to India and Palestine. The British Empire in India has ended without even a whimper and the bang was provided by local talent. It is curious, indeed, to notice how little attention, comparatively speaking, is paid to the final withdrawal from India, how little the loss of the "brightest jewel in the crown" has affected the public.

THERE was genuine good feeling and genuine distress at the bloody baptism of India and Pakistan. It would be absurd to say that there was no trace of *Schadenfreude* at the news from Punjab; but any "I told you so" feeling was directed at the numerous American critics, for whom the end of British rule was the beginning of wisdom—and the end of it too—as far as the Indian question was concerned. Mr. Churchill's powerful debating speech on the independence of Burma did not win much support from his own party or any other section of the House of Commons. And so conservative a paper as the *Daily Telegraph* replied to a die-hard critic that the present situation in India was, in part, due to delay in implementing the provisions of the Act of 1935.

The willingness to abandon Palestine is more easily explicable. Here there is no longer any glorious historical achievement, at any rate in the old sense of the term. There is rather a record of thirty years of failure or of very limited success. There is, too, a record of frustration and a record of expenditure of men and money in preserving an inherently unstable *status quo*. There is also more sign of resenting criticism, especially American-Jewish criticism, as well as indignation to the assassination of British soldiers and police. There has been felt, in much American criticism of British action, an example of the temper of the landlord who wrote from his London club to his Irish tenants: "If you think you can intimidate me by shooting my bailiff you are very much mistaken." It has been felt that Hollywood is not the place to launch a heroic crusade from and that, in the American readiness in plan and counsel, there is concealed the assumption that George will and should do it. The popular retort is "Let Sam do it" or "Put up or shut up." But that British policy should be so affected by such popular sentiments is itself significant. The power of free action of the British government, of *any* British government, is limited by this skepticism and fatigue.

1947: Lord Mountbatten, last British viceroy, proclaims the independence of India

"*Even if* suttee *(burning widows with their husband's bodies) comes back, there will be distress in Britain, but not missionary zeal.*"

The skepticism is not merely intellectual doubt as to British power. It is doubt as to the moral worth of British endeavors to spread the rule of law and to extend the area in which western ideas are the political religion of all sensible men. If, after generations of British rule, the law and order imposed from above on India collapse so easily, if the political unity of India (a British creation) collapses the moment the British leave, then the achievement was obviously superficial and not worth the effort put into it. If fewer clocks work in North India, what of it? Perhaps India doesn't need clocks. Every people (or, in India, peoples) must be allowed to make its own mistakes and if dacoitry, and religious feuds, even *suttee* come back, there will be distress in Britain but no missionary zeal. As the Indian question has proved insoluble in terms of Indian unity, and perhaps avoidance of civil war, so the Palestine question is thought to be insoluble, too. There is a good deal of candid comment to the effect that we offered the same territory to both sides and that both Jews and Arabs have a right to reproach us with perfidy. There are an increasing number of people who damn the memory of Balfour and regret bitterly that, in his old age, for the first and last time, his detached mind became passionate and partisan. But that is water—and blood—over the dam.

In such a mood of pessimistic resignation, it is natural for the British people to turn to the Dominions. They are adult societies, not ridden by race feuds although South Africa is an apparent exception. They can be relied on in great crises, as in 1939 and in 1947. They have the same general political, social, and moral ideas. For them "democracy" is what we mean by it; freedom is the kind that mother used to make. Bargains can be made and kept; there is no Congress to thwart the Administration; there is no foreign ideology making black white and the worse appear the better reason. A world in which these common ideas and common practices prevailed would be a much better and happier world. But they don't prevail. Is it not wisdom, then, to accept the fact that we have been living beyond our political as well as our economic means and resolve to cultivate our own garden? At any rate is it not reason to resign the job of economic and political stabilizer, even if there is a willing successor with quite different ideas ready to take over? That there should be a true world order we are all agreed. That Britain should play her part we are all agreed; that Britain's part will have to be more modest than in the past we are all agreed. That the world should not continue to expect too much from us is a general hope; that it may, for a time, expect too little from us, write us off prematurely, is a risk we are ready to take. For England has not so far changed that outside opinion is decisive and if the world does write us off—well it is a mistake that has been made before and not very long ago. That it is a mistake no one really doubts. The nation of shopkeepers will soon be back doing business at the same old stand; not quite as much business, but business all the same—and good business for the shopkeeper and his customers, especially if they buy the political goods which the world once treasured and might wisely treasure again.

The Marshall Plan

America's Historic Opportunity

BY ROBERT P. PATTERSON
Former U. S. Secretary of War

THE American people will be faced during the coming weeks with the decision of accepting or rejecting the Marshall Plan for European reconstruction. The peoples of the whole world, especially those of the nations of Western Europe will be watching with utmost anxiety every phase of this momentous debate in the Congress of the United States.

Acceptance of the Plan would be a major factor in improving prospects for world peace.

Rejection of the Plan would have drastic consequences in our stricken world. President Truman and Secretary Marshall would be left almost powerless to settle the vital international problems they will be confronted with in 1948.

No large region of the earth was ever so thoroughly devastated as was Europe in the wake of World War II. Farming had been abandoned in wide areas, factories had been destroyed by the tens of thousands, millions of people had not even a roof over their heads. Europe certainly would not have survived in 1945 and 1946 had it not been for the relief and rehabilitation provided by UNRRA—one of the truly generous cooperative international endeavors of history.

But when UNRRA aid ended in 1946, Europe had not recovered. Droughts, floods and a severe winter had, in fact, set recovery back. Stop-gap loans and contributions of food and fuel could not have been sufficient to set them on their feet again.

On June 5, 1947, when it was apparent that the UN would not be able to aid European recovery in time, Secretary of State George C. Marshall made his celebrated speech at Harvard University. He offered American aid to Europe, *provided* the European nations got together to decide first what they could do by their own efforts, cooperatively to restore the Continent's economy and what they needed from the U. S. and the other American nations to meet their deficits. "Our policy," said Marshall, "is not directed against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, deprivation and chaos." The countries of Europe were invited to attend the conference in Paris in August, 1947. Nearly every European nation accepted the offer with alacrity and surging hope, except the Soviet Union and those Eastern nations under her influence, and two of these latter—Poland and Czechoslovakia—agreed to meet with the others but later withdrew their acceptance under Soviet pressure. It was apparent from the outset that the Marshall Plan was never directed against Russia or Communism. In fact, the door is still open to the nations of Eastern Europe to participate in the Plan. So the Russian claim that the Marshall Plan is directed against her is entirely fallacious.

MANY people are apt to ignore the fact that the greater part of the burden of European recovery, under the Marshall Plan, will be borne by the European nations themselves. This will be done by means of a strong production effort in each of the participating countries, the creation of international financial stability and the maximum cooperation among the countries involved. The basic aim of the recovery program is thus to revive and expand European economy so as to eliminate abnormal demands on the outside world and produce for export goods required to pay for imports the participating countries have always needed.

The maximum use will be made by the Western European nations of their own natural resources, manpower and productive capacity. To stimulate this self-help they contemplate abolishing century-old barriers between them. They intend to launch a series of projects for common exploitation of new sources of electric power, cutting across frontiers, such as hydro-electric power plants in the Alps, and by use of German coal.

BUT their report shows that even after taking full account of the supplies that they can produce for themselves and that they can hope to obtain from the rest of the world, outside the Western Hemisphere, the participating countries will still require large amounts of food, fuel, raw materials and capital equipment from the American continents. Without this flow of goods, the whole recovery program will be in jeopardy. The need is by no means exaggerated. Food consumption at the end of the program in 1951 will be less than the pre-war level. There will also have to be gasoline rationing and, in many countries, restrictions on consumption of food and clothing. The size of their deficit, which must be made up with American help, is increased by the fact that goods are no longer available from Eastern Europe, now in the Russian orbit.

With the aid that would be provided under the Marshall Plan and by means of their own carefully-worked-out economic programs, the nations of Western Europe believe they can become self-supporting in four years. But the Plan must be put into effect immediately. The headlines which appear in our newspapers every day about the political turmoil in Europe are witness to its dire necessity. People who have enough to eat and the wherewithal to make life comfortable do not riot against their governments. The 16 billion dollars requested of this country is equivalent to what it cost the U. S. to run World War II for two weeks! It is not too large a price to pay for the maintenance in Western Europe of free nations devoted to traditions of democracy, principles of human dignity and respect for individual rights.

Home Was Never Like This!

By ILES BRODY

Noted bon vivant and gourmet extraordinary

Although luxury hotels are disappearing in most parts of the world, New York still has a full quota. Some of the most elegant are clustered around the Southeast corner of Central Park, such as the Pierre (above) and the Sherry Netherlands, Savoy-Plaza and Plaza (on the page opposite)

NOTHING can give you the feeling of riches and well-being, even though you be poor as a church-mouse, as a stay at a good hotel. Away from routine home-cares, even a few days make a perfect holiday, be it in the Hershey in Pennsylvania, the Dolder in Zurich, the Palace in St. Moritz, the Taj Mahal in Bombay, the Hotel de Paris in Monte Carlo, Shepheard's in Cairo, the Petropolis near Rio de Janeiro, Sir Victor Sassoon's Hotel Cathay in Shanghai, Oloffson's in Port-au-Prince, the Hind's Head in Bray-on-Thames, the Chateau Lanvier in Ottawa, the Angleterre in Copenhagen, the Svea in Upsala, the Gresham in Dublin, the Indes in The Hague, the Ritz in Barcelona, the Bolivar in Lima, the Imperial in Tokio, the Cavour in Milan or the Moskva in Moscow.

Where else, besides a luxurious hotel, can you have a thousand servants (the thousand room Plaza in New York has just that many); any kind of food at any hour of the day or night; terrific parties beautifully arranged; your theater-railroad-airplane tickets bought; your messages taken by melodious voices; gorgeous bouquets in crystal vases or out-of-season fruit on your living room table when you arrive; and a bill that makes you feel very, very important as you depart?

A good hotel, I said.

There are not so many of them left. The era of prodigal, wonderful hotels is fast coming to an end, except for a score of strongholds in the United States, some in Europe, and a precious few in South America. Hotels, even the best, have their ups and downs, just like people and countries. As Mark Twain said: "It used to be a good hotel, but that proves absolutely nothing—I used to be a good boy."

Despite the present over-crowding in hotels all over the world, there are still some where, when you arrive and sign the register at the front desk, you set in motion an invisible, most efficient machine. Automatically managers, housekeepers, cashiers, headwaiters, barbers, bartenders, bellboys, chefs and telephone operators snap to attention before you, as though you were the Aga Khan. Calmly, as though this strange, big, splendid house were always your abode, you cash checks, order a car, tell the front desk to accept C.O.D. parcels, summon the typist, get the house physician to minister to your real or

There are hotels in every part of the world where the traveller is made to feel like a king—or at least like a welcome guest. A wise man-about-the-continents tells you how to find them.

imaginary ills, and ask the resident broker to buy for you those shares the guy told you about in the Men's Room on the train. All this without your moving from your room. In other words, you are a potentate.

In these overcrowded days, one is satisfied with a hotel room that is neat, clean and reasonably comfortable. But the greatness of such hoteliers as Monsieur Ritz and Mr. Statler lay in the fact that they insisted the traveler should have an atmosphere of home around him in a hotel room, assuming he lived in a mansion. In the Ritz hotels, for example, the rooms were literally lined with mirrors to lend brightness even on the darkest day; the furniture was expensive and individual; they were gay pieces, either genuine or superbly executed replicas of antiques.

Ritz, sixteen, penniless, arrived in Paris from Switzerland, the cradle of all super-hoteliers. He went straight from the train to a restaurant called Larue's, which was then the best in the French capital. He applied for a job as busboy. The proprietor asked: "And what are your qualifications?" "I can speak several languages," replied Ritz, "and know all about wines, and the art of making the guest feel at home." The old proprietor sneered, "Anyone in this business can speak several languages; no one knows all about wines; and the art you speak of is achieved only after a half century of practice." Nevertheless he engaged the intrepid young man; and as for his dogma, at least in the case of young Ritz, he was wrong. In less than ten years Ritz was manager of London's newly opened Savoy Hotel, and the Savoy's guests felt very much at home.

Soon Ritz owned a hotel, then another, and still another. There were Ritz Hotels in Paris, Barcelona, Madrid, Budapest, London, New York, Boston.

Of course, he could not welcome every one of his guests personally in all his vast enterprises, so he delegated this duty to the most able staff that could be found. For example, the late Monsieur Olivier, the headwaiter of his Paris Ritz, was a fabulous host, and possessed such overwhelming charm that a proud king of England, Edward VII, would patiently wait for him to finish his duties at the hotel and take him to the late spots. The head of the kitchens in Paris was the equally fabulous "Papa" Gimmon, who strolled around the enormous kitchens with a broomstick behind his back, clouting the heads of lesser cooks for minuscule mistakes in the concoction of a sauce or a soup.

If it is the hotel's job to make the guest feel at home, it is the duty of the guest to deal fairly with the hotel. Herr Hängemuller, Austrian ambassador to the United States, did not make a false statement to the old Fifth Avenue Hotel when he passed through New York to take his post in Washington—he clearly stated on the register blank: "Ambassador Hängemuller and woman." The clerks looked at him aghast: "You mean, Her Excellency?" "*Nein,*" thundered Herr H., "I said mit voman!" The management explained most politely that it was against the rules of a first-class hotel, and so on. Herr H. nearly got apoplexy: "She is mine voman, mine maid, mine *stuebenmädchen!* She dress me, *jawohl?* She gives up my stockings, like a valet!" The hotel was adamant. The afternoon papers already carried the spicy story; an international incident was in the making. Finally the hotel installed Hängemuller in his suite, the maid in a room, but stationed house detectives in the corridors to make sure that there wouldn't be any "traffic" between those immoral people. However, the ban was immediately lifted when the picture of "mine voman" appeared in the papers—she was nearer to seventy than sixty, an honest and probably most efficient Viennese housefrau at whom the excited hotel management had forgotten to look.

Registering with a lady in a hotel often turns out to be a ticklish business. There was the case of Episcopalian Bishop MacLaren of Chicago, who often stopped at the windy city's elegant Palmer House. He was an amiable bachelor, the best guest a hotel could wish for. Naturally, he always slept in his rooms alone. But one night he came accompanied by a lovely lady. At the front desk he grabbed the fountain pen and wrote on the register pad, as usual, "Bishop MacLaren." Not a word of the lady. The clerk, too dumbfounded to say a word, let the couple go upstairs, but after a few minutes he came to. "Paddy! Mick!" he called excitedly to the two old Irish housecops, "the bishop is up there with a girl! We cannot permit such goings on in this hotel!" The two sleepy blood-

Mexico City's Hotel Reforma caters to the international set

The gargantuan Moskva is across the street from the Kremlin

hounds who saw very little action at the Palmer House, woke up, fiercely fingering their badges. The rest is history—they broke down the door of the bishop's apartment, and there was a most lively time until the bishop could explain that he had been married the previous afternoon, but that by sheer force of habit he had registered as a celibate.

Differences in national customs sometimes create tempests which harassed hotel managers must somehow calm. In the U. S., for example, one removes his hat in the elevator if there are ladies present. In Europe this wasn't the custom, and when in the elevator of the Budapest Ritz an American lady objected to the bedecked young Duke of Mecklenburg, the latter created a terrible fuss. The rest of the American women in the hotel sided with their compatriot and sent a deputation to Mr. Marenchich, the General Manager, who in turn begged the Duke to adhere to the "odd" habit. The Duke graciously consented, but commissioned a Mr. Habig, the local hatmaker, to create two tiny hats for his pair of bull terriers, and as soon as the three stepped into the elevator, one removed his hat and adjusted those of the other two. Mecklenburg was balding, and you know how those chihuahas have to grapple with their inferiority complexes.

A hotel manager must be a man of infinite resource. John Horgan, once manager of the Hotel Sinton in Cincinnati, tells of the time Marie, Queen of Rumania, arrived in that city. Horgan had made elaborate preparations to welcome the royal guest. "Welcome Queen Marie" appeared in huge signs on the marquee, the entrance resembled a conservatory, her rooms had been specially decorated, and the queen's minister in Washington had been consulted via long distance about Her Majesty's habits, peculiarities, and the food that she preferred. In addition, the hotel purchased a four-thousand and four hundred dollar diamond bracelet watch to present to her.

The queen arrived on schedule in Cincinnati. But she refused to leave her private car because of threats of assassination. With a sad heart, Horgan prepared to charge off to publicity all the costly preparations—all, but the watch. But the newspapers had talked about that watch for days, and naturally the queen knew all about it. Marie of Rumania summoned Horgan to her car, and with her bewitching smile said, "I am sorry, Mr. Horgan. You know, we can't be too careful. Our lives are in constant peril." Then, with the casualness of highly placed persons she added, smiling, "I hear you have a beautiful watch for me . . ."

Horgan's brain had never worked so fast before. He brought out the watch, fumbled with it as if in preparation to place it on the queen's wrist, and then suddenly exclaimed. "Why, what an oversight, the watch is not engraved! Here," he turned to his secretary, "take this watch to the jeweler immediately and have it engraved. It must be ready in a couple of hours!" The secretary was one of those employers dream about—he headed straight for the hotel and popped the watch back in the safe. Horgan left the queen's car a little while later "to hurry that lazy secretary of mine," and soon secretary and boss were congratulating each other for some very quick thinking.

MANY shrewd travelers prefer small hotels. All over Europe, and especially in France, it is smart to stay (and to reside permanently) in tiny hotels, some of which have no more than ten rooms. Here, if you succeed in getting American Plan accommodations, you eat with the *patron*—and let me assure you that you won't regret it. No cataclysm can demolish a French housewife's ingenuity in getting food, and the lack of provisions merely accentuates her culinary genius. A dish of her lentils will make you quiver with emotion.

The most amusing small hotel in London, the Cavendish on Jermyn Street, was owned by a Mrs. Rosa Lewis, who used to be in service in Buckingham Palace when she was young and beautiful. Lord

Cavendish was a great friend of the enchanting Rosa, and when he died, he willed his Jermyn Street Mansion to her. She promptly turned it into a hotel, and the gayest times commenced. First of all, few people actually paid. Rosa sized up the guest with an infallible glance, put a couple of casual questions to him, and if he was to her liking, let him have a magnificent apartment, worth ten pounds a week, for a pound and a half. She went even further. "Of course, you don't have to pay cash," she would say, "we take the rent in champagne. Go get a bottle."

This odd sort of room renting took place in the downstairs living room which was forever filled with young guards officers, racing fans in checkered suits, adventurers, and pretty ladies of the highest aristocracy who went to the Cavendish with much more gusto than to the galleries of the House of Lords. If a rich peer or beer brewer happened to walk into the gay living room at Rosa's, he would have to pay for the whole party, and if there were any persons really down on their luck, a month's room and board was quickly added to the rich man's bill. The rooms of the Cavendish were the size of baronial halls. Rare antiques were scattered among cheap, second-hand pieces of furniture. Over the beds hung huge crucifixes, and under them Rosa's mischievous West Highland terriers frolicked, for the dogs wandered around from room to room, just like everybody else. The Cavendish was Independence Hall.

ONE of the finest hotels in London is Claridge's. It is rather complicated to get a room at Claridge's —you definitely have to be "somebody,"—a monarch, movie magnate, maharajah or millionaire. It is a snooty hotel, where British snobbery is in full cry, although the food is handled with less finesse than in the elegant and less snobbish Savoy, or at the charming Berkeley, opposite the Ritz and Green Park, the most alluring of small gardens in London. A favorite hotel of American tourists (General Eisenhower included) is the splendid Dorchester opposite Hyde Park. The list of London hotels, large or small, good or bad, is endless.

There were two immensely fine hotels in Paris, the Crillon, opposite the American Embassy, and the Meurice. The Nazis grabbed both of them, and before they had a chance to recover from that profound shock, they were appropriated by the liberating Americans as Red Cross and WAC billets. The Majestic, near the Bois de Boulogne, was also appreciated by the Nazis, who used it as their headquarters. They left the smaller Parisian hotels more or less alone, and that is why the Raphael, the GeorgeV, the Prince de Galles, and the Plaza Athenée are in full swing as before; the Foyot, opposite the French Senate and the beautiful Luxembourg Gardens, has immense historical background. Several hundred years old, it was the headquarters of Russian nobility when there was still a Russian nobility with money. It had perhaps the best, and surely the most expensive food in the world, while its charming, velvet-upholstered rooms were quite inexpensive.

The famous Adlon and Esplanade in Berlin ought to be written up in fat books by historians—for they simply ain't no more! But they were marvelous hotels

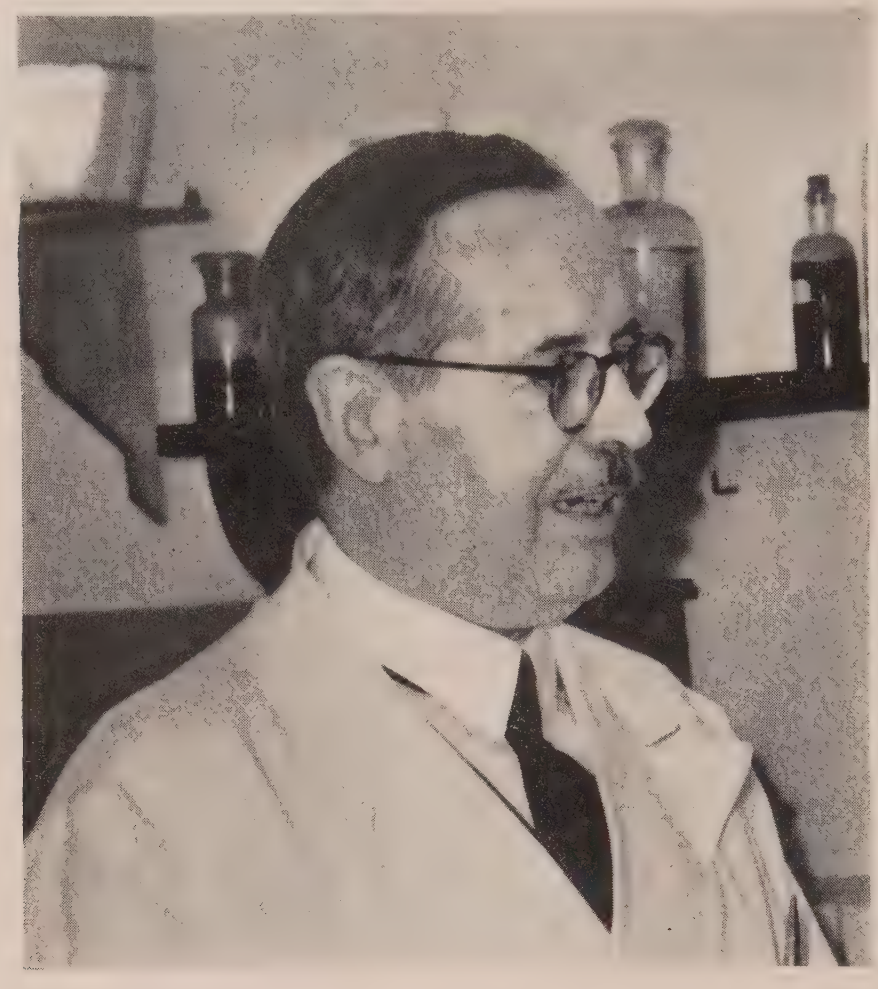
The Savoy, on London's Strand, is famous for its food

at a time when the Germans still behaved reasonably well (during the first half of Wilhelm II's reign), and they vied with any other luxury hotel on the Continent.

Vienna has many fine hotels, more or less intact, among them the two Bristols, the old building and the new one, the Imperial (Soviet Army Headquarters), the Grand, the Sacher, and the Erzherzog Karl, one of the oldest hotels in Europe. Warsaw once had its Bristol and its Europejski. Bucharest's best is the Plaza Athenée. Budapest's superb hotels overlooking the Danube were totally destroyed in the war; there is one hotel that stands, but stands only for Russian Army officers, the Britannia.

Many seasoned travelers hold the Villa d'Este the best in the entire world. This stupendous establishment, converted from a ducal palace, is on Lake Como in Italy, and if you are a guest, you are made to feel like a combination of John D. Rockefeller Jr., and the Duke of Norfolk. A famous French chef owned it and now it's run by his widow and son. The food was also superb here, though some other seasoned travelers preferred that at the Royal Hotel Danieli in Venice. Or that of the Hotel Mamounnia, in Morocco, in the city of Marrakech. One of the wings of this hotel was built—so they say—over a thousand years ago. It is a divinely run, wonderful and beautiful hotel, and it had better be—the garden, you are told, is on the very site where once stood the Garden of Eden. This is not at all difficult to believe when you contemplate the hundreds of ageless date palms, orange and lemon trees, acacias, oleanders and bougainvillea, and the myriad other odd types of foliage which I cannot even name because I know more about hotels than botany.

However, I still know what to do with an orchid, and herewith I pass one to each hotel on the face of the earth, which endeavors to make our stay within its walls a holiday.



Houssay of Argentina

Winner of the Nobel Prize in Medicine

By VINCENT de PASCAL

UN WORLD correspondent for South America

In the 17th Century when the great physicist, Sir Isaac Newton, drove through the streets of London to attend a meeting at the Royal Academy, the people of the city strewed flowers on the road before his coach. When he entered the hall, the entire Academy rose to its feet and cheered. No king could have received greater homage.

They do these things differently in Argentina in 1947. The announcement last October that the renowned Argentinian scientist, Dr. Bernardo Alberto Houssay, had achieved the highest world acclaim as a co-winner of the Nobel Prize in Medicine for 1947, brought forth no official congratulations. In fact, the Buenos Aires government organ, *Epoca,* celebrated the award by printing a caricature of Dr. Houssay clambering up a tree bearing fruit labelled "Nobel Prize." In the accompanying article, it compared Houssay—the first Latin American ever to receive a Nobel Prize in the field of science—to a bald man selling hair restorer. It further expressed doubt as to the originality and value of his work and wondered why he bothered with silly scientific theories instead of buckling down to clinical medicine. "Once again," concluded *Epoca,* "the Nobel Prize has been decided on political grounds."

The only official body in all of Argentina to acclaim

the great scientist was the Senate of the remote Province of Mendoza, deep in the Andes. It voted to send him a congratulatory telegram. Now the Senate of Mendoza Province is being "investigated" by Perón's federal authorities for "conduct exceeding legislative duties."

The reason for the Perón Government's displeasure is not hard to find. In October, 1943, four months after the "Colonels' Revolution," a group of illustrious Argentine intellectuals visited President Pedro P. Ramirez and petitioned him to abandon the pro-Axis tendency of his government. He promised to do so. When he failed in his promise, these men signed the now famous "Manifesto for Effective Democracy." The document, as submitted to Ramirez, contained 5,000 signatures. The published version contained only the 150 most outstanding signatures, among which was Houssay's. The manifesto brought on the first of what was to be a series of wholesale purges in Argentina's schools and universities, which was destined to strip them of their most brilliant teachers.

Twenty-four hours after the publication of the Manifesto, the 150 whose names were published were summarily dismissed from their university and hospital jobs and, of course, among them was Houssay, Argentina's topmost scientific brain. Following his dismissal, Dr. Houssay was showered with letters and telegrams from every part of Argentina and abroad. Among the hundreds of letters he received, there were 174 copies of Rudyard Kipling's "If."

A man given to pure research rather than to amassing a fortune, Dr. Houssay's modest personal income practically disappeared with the loss of his post. But he did not waver in his political beliefs, although he was concerned by what the interruption would mean to his studies. He has steadfastly remained a great liberal opposed to tyrannical government. For one of his most profound political beliefs is that there can be no scientific progress without freedom. President Juan D. Perón has never forgiven him for thinking so.

The story of a great man whose loyalty to the principles of science and democracy has won him the acclaim of the world, but only government censure and dismissal from his university post in his own country.

The afternoon of his dismissal, Radio del Estado broadcast the news, qualifying the signers as "traitors to the State." The broadcast was heard by Dr. Miguel Laphitzondo, well-to-do Argentine attorney. That evening he visited Houssay and asked him how much he would require to be able to continue his studies. Houssay told him he would need one hundred thousand pesos a year ($25,000), never dreaming anyone would put up that kind of money. Laphitzondo did. With contributions from Pablo F. Perlender and an engineer named Saubrean, Laphitzondo has continued providing the money ever since.

Houssay rented what was once a rich man's mansion that had seen better days and established the Institute of Biology and Experimental Medicine, staffing it with his old collaborators. Most notable among these are two of his former students, Dr. John Treharne Lewis, Argentine born of British parents, who has been with Houssay for thirty years, and Dr. Virgilio G. Foglia, who has worked with the Professor for nineteen years.

Since Dr. Houssay was first purged, there have been numerous moving episodes showing the desire of the Argentine people to help him to continue his work. The owner of the Institute's premises, for example, has never demanded any rent. When asked about it, this unusual landlord replies rather sheepishly, "I always seem to forget. Some day I'll get around to it."

Last month, the Institute needed an electric refrigerator and ordered one from Siam, Ltda. When it was delivered, the company's president, Torcuato di Tella, refused payment. Recently an order was placed with Cristaleria Rigolleau for test tubes valued at 2,100 pesos. After the truck was unloaded, the driver presented the bill for payment. It was for one peso!

A group of businessmen has formed a Society for Aid to Scientific Research, each member contributing one thousand pesos annually. And several ladies have arranged among themselves for each to pay the salary of one servant at the Institute.

When the Argentine Government, in 1945, had to show a semblance of change of heart toward democracy to be eligible to sign the Pan-American Act of Chapultepec, the dismissal of the 150 professors and physicians was revoked. Houssay was restored to his old post. But not for long. In 1946 President Perón's government decided to make a last clean sweep of the old line liberal teachers. While in Canada attending a scientific meeting Houssay read in the newspapers that he had again been dismissed. He was the first of a new group of hundreds of distinguished professors and teachers relieved of their jobs.

Despite this persecution for political reasons, Dr. Houssay feels that governments are but fleeting episodes in the history of nations, and that his country will outlast any temporary situation, including the present one. It is therefore not fitting to abandon it for personal reasons. Upon being asked why he had not accepted university posts he had been offered in the United States after his first purge, he replied: "As an Argentine, and having obtained all my learning in Argentina, it is my duty now to give to my country all the benefits of my studies."

As a youngster, Houssay was a prodigious scholar. He was a registered pharmacist before his 17th birthday and Assistant Professor of Physiology at Buenos Aires University before he was twenty.

Bernardo's father, a French law professor who had been brought to Argentina to teach at the university, had sent his three older sons to study in France. The results were such that he decided his youngest son would study in Argentina.

To the astonishment of both Houssay père and the school authorities, Bernardo finished his six year grammar school course in two. The eight year old

boy was thereupon admitted to the first year of high school as a "listener" under special observation. He was submitted to questioning from time to time to test his capacity for learning. After seven months, the principal informed Bernardo's father that the boy was prepared to take examinations for entrance to the second year of high school.

When he received his bachelor's degree at thirteen, he told his father that from that moment on he would support himself.

He kept his word the following year, 1901—he was born April 10, 1887—when he began studying pharmacy while earning his living as an interne in the French Hospital in Buenos Aires. His starting salary was $2.50 per month, with room and board. In order to live within his meager income, young Houssay walked to and from the hospital, a distance of ninety city blocks. It was this walk twice daily, Houssay insists, that was responsible for his excellent health.

To shorten the tediousness of the long hike, young Houssay amused himself by memorizing all the posters along the way. It is partly due to this training, he thinks, that he possesses today what has become famous among Argentine scientific circles as "Houssay's card index memory." Once, to check up on himself when a new set of posters appeared, he wrote down, on arriving home, the text of every poster he had seen on the way. Next morning, with list in hand, he found that he had set them all down, exactly in the order they had come. Houssay doesn't know whether he could do it today. However, he can still recite from memory long quotations in Latin and passages from Victor Hugo's works which his father used to read to him when he was a boy.

Upon graduating as a registered pharmacist in 1904, Houssay began the simultaneous study of medicine and histology. By 1907 he was Assistant Professor of Physiology; two years later, at 22, he was named Professor of Veterinary Medicine at Buenos Aires University and almost immediately after he was appointed staff physician at the Hospital Alvear in Buenos Aires. But his hospital duties took too much time from his intense study of physiology and so he resigned, continuing only with his Chair of Veterinary Medicine. This left his afternoons free for research.

Recognition began coming to him in 1919 when, at 32, he was given the Chair of Physiology at Buenos Aires University. There, Professor Houssay established a laboratory for the study of biological chemistry, physiology, biochemistry, pharmacology and experimental medicine. Houssay's laboratory soon attracted scientists and scholarship students from many countries. At one time he had 135 graduate scientists working in his laboratory.

ARGENTINE scholars today admit that there are two eras in Argentina's university system: pre-Houssay and post-Houssay. As a university professor, Dr. Houssay is a sharply debated personality. There are no neutrals. There are those unconditionally for him, and those with an abiding enmity toward him. This is primarily due to Houssay's uncompromising honesty and his profound respect for learning.

Dr. Foglia (right) has worked with Houssay for 19 years

Outside of the university, Houssay is a man of eminently engaging personality, given to punctuating conversations with flashes of humor. He combines gentleness and goodness. One Argentine scientist said of him: "It does one good to know that there are still human beings like him on this earth."

But in the classroom, Professor Houssay is hard. He is all business. He demands wholehearted dedication to study. He has neither time nor patience to lose on students with little inclination toward learning. But he will devote his whole time, if necessary, to a student who strives to master a subject that is difficult for him.

He has steadfastly refused to bow to a rather general Argentine custom which permits students to pass examinations with the aid of "recommendations" from influential people. Students who went before Houssay for examinations had to deliver the goods on their own merits. This unflinching attitude once caused him to be pelted with tomatoes in class by a group of disgruntled failures.

At another time, he was hit with an iron bar which left him unconscious, and a bomb was placed in his home. This happened only a few years ago, when a professor who now holds a high university post was subjected to investigation of his dubious professional activities. Dr. Houssay was a member of the investigating committee. His integrity did not permit him to compromise and the reprisals were the result.

Despite the storms of his life, Dr. Houssay, at sixty, is extremely well-preserved. He neither smokes nor drinks. He admits that he likes to eat well, but not too much, leaving the choice of his food to the judgment of his cook at home.

In addition to his native Spanish, Dr. Houssay speaks fluent English and French. He also has a good command of conversational German.

Dr. Houssay's wife, Maria Angelica Catan de Houssay, is a doctor of chemistry. They met for the first time while he was preparing a thesis on serpents. For a time after their marriage, Senora Houssay worked with her husband in his laboratory. When the chil-

dren came, however, she dedicated herself to their home. The Houssays have three sons: Alberto, 25, a physician studying at Rochester University in New York; Hector, 24, also a physician; and Raul, 23, who will receive his M.D. this year.

It is a source of constant amazement to visitors at the Institute of Biology and Experimental Medicine that such profound research can be carried on in laboratories equipped with only the barest necessities. For most of the funds at Houssay's disposal go for experiments and salaries for his scientific and other personnel. It is a tribute to the man's scientific genius that he can perform his experiments with such a minimum of equipment.

Houssay had been proposed for the Nobel Prize on several previous occasions in other years. The particular investigation for which he received the Nobel Prize this year grew out of his researches into the working of the pituitary gland, a tiny endocrine gland situated at the base of the brain. Houssay's experiments proved that pituitary secretions were closely associated with diabetes.

Dismissal of Houssay and other democratic professors by the Peron Government evoked protest demonstration by students

The medical world has long known that diabetes results from failure of the pancreas (or sweetbread) to supply the body with insulin. It was supposed that without insulin, either derived from the pancreas or taken in synthesized form, as a medicine, the body could not process its intake of starch and sugar. When the pancreas was cut out of an animal, the animal soon died.

But Houssay doubted that insulin alone was the key. To prove his point, he removed both the pancreas and the anterior lobes of the pituitary gland from an experimental animal. He noticed that such an animal lived considerably longer than one which had lost only its pancreas. Amputation of the pituitary lobes, therefore, seemed to make it possible for the animal to make use of some of the starch and sugar which it ingested, even though there was no insulin present at all.

Next, Houssay injected matter from the pituitary into the blood of a perfectly healthy animal. It promptly showed symptoms of diabetes. The pituitary injection prevented the animal from properly using its starch and sugar, even though its pancreas was functioning normally.

Houssay's experiments, therefore, prove the existence of a pituitary secretion which acts as an antagonist to insulin. The discovery has no immediate application in the treatment of disease. But physicians everywhere hail it as a great step forward in our understanding of how the body functions. From such scientific discoveries, practical benefits to humanity are quick to follow.

"From the scientific viewpoints," says an Argentine scientific journal, "Houssay's work is impeccable. There is no affirmation without its proof, and all of these have been submitted to severe critical analysis. From the physiological viewpoint, the minute examination of the detail of functional mechanisms has provided a new and beautiful demonstration of the unity of the organism."

The article concludes with a sharp if unexpressed rebuke to those who have persecuted the most brilliant men in Argentine sciences and letters: "In awarding the Nobel Prize, nothing more was considered than the value of the scientific discoveries, but in these are included the qualities necessary to achieve them. A prize is awarded to a great work, and great works are not performed by little men."

Since receiving the prize, Bernardo Alberto Houssay has been deluged with a new flood of lucrative and honored posts. But despite the veiled threats to his scientific freedom, he has no intention of leaving Argentina except for a brief visit to Stockholm to receive the prize itself, and a month's engagement to lecture at the University of California.

When asked what he would do with the money that goes with the prize ($24,460) he looked at his questioner in astonishment. "Naturally," he said, "I will invest it in equipment for the Institute!"

The Last Man To Be Slapped In The Japanese Army

BY KUNIO FUKUYAMA
Former Corporal in the Japanese Army

A Japanese university student, in his own English, describes the terrible time he had understanding the militarists' idea of discipline.

MUCH has been said about the discipline of the Japanese Army, particularly the beating and slapping of the lower class of army personnel. Being often told before I entered the Army that the slapping was not meant to mean any ill-feeling toward the new recruits, but to make them capable of enduring all hardships in the army life, and any small mistakes would be dealt by severe punishment from superior officers, I had been very much afraid of it inwardly.

It was in the morning of January 10, 1945, that I found myself on the platform accompanied by my relatives and the people in our neighborhood. It was very cold with a stiff wind. Making a farewell address, a thousand emotions crowded my mind when I thought that until yesterday, I had sent many of my friends off to the front like this. The flag waving, the war song sounding, and the hearty send-off with the cry of "*banzai*"—all these were meant for me, nevertheless they seemed to me as if in a dream. Being destined to be forced to join the army sooner or later, I had determined I would act as a "Patriotic Japanese" at the time of parting at least, but now at the last moment I felt my resolution begin to stagger. I felt like crying. "Good-bye everybody!" So saying I looked at her who was trying to crane her neck to get a peep at me through the many people at the station. I saw her trying to keep back her tears with a white handkerchief. At that moment, I must confess, I was carried away by the impulse of the moment to cling to my mother, without caring for anything else. But I was not allowed to do so, because I and my family would be accused of being "not patriotic."

"no inspection was ever held when I was perfectly prepared for it. . ."

"1st Company, 3rd Section," this was my outfit I was told by the superior soldier, sitting at the desk in front of the gate. By and by a sinewy probationary officer appeared and conducted us to the rooms according to the list of names. Koyama and I happened to be led, with other students into Room No. 10, in which the full number of soldiers was sixteen.

"Fall in!" suddenly sounded out of the door and all of us sprang to our feet to line up in front of the probationary officer standing in the passage. He ordered us to stand in one line according to our size there and next ordered the several soldiers who had several varied bundles of uniforms and caps to distribute them among us, allowing no selection and utterance.

Changing my college cap and uniform into the khaki army ones, I could not help feeling forlorn more or less to say goodbye to my last things civilian, but at

the same time the marks of corporal sticking in the neck of the uniform made me very proud.

Well, my first experience of the slapping treatment was about two weeks after I had entered the army. Inspection was held in our barracks concerning the cleanliness of shirts we were wearing then. Unfortunately two-thirds of our section, including me, had soiled shirts because of the heavy work we had to do. The probationary officer lined us who had failed to undertake washings and brutally beated us with a bamboo sword. It was so severe that my head was spinning as though it were a top. But we could do nothing but take it unflinchingly. If anyone tried to avoid the slap by so much as a turn of his head, the results would be far more disastrous for him. After the punishment to my surprise we were to say "Thank you sir" bowing our heads because we were told by our superior officer that to be slapped was merely to be taken as a warning but to me it seemed too rough.

From that day onwards, on the average we were punished two or three times at least a day, though I did not know why. Moreover some fellow comrades were slapped more than ten times a day. At least two months went by until we thought nothing of the beatings we were getting. The superior officers explained to us that slapping had the sole purpose of building up our "soldiers' morals" but I could not help thinking we were just like the castrated pigs put to work.

"Honesty" was regarded as the supreme moral in our school for we were to deal with a huge sum of money and goods as an officer of the Intendance Corps after our graduation. Among the many ways of spiritual education, *jiko-hokoku*, (to inform the superior officer all the events we had committed) was especially called upon and embarrassed us very much. That is, if we were reproved by other officers than our section commander, we had to inform him, as soon as possible, when, where and what we had done.

Living in fear of the bamboo-sword and beatings always, we underwent the heavy training for eight months. The "*jiko-hokoku*" we had been subject to constantly for the time being after we entered the Army, began to show a tendency to be decreased then because of our scrupulous care and precaution. Our superior officer delighted in this very much, saying that we came to have the firm character and soldier's spirit but to me the reverse see ed to be the case. It might be true that repentance would wipe out sin from the viewpoint of religion but the Army life was too rough and barbarous to draw a confession from us. I must confess that I did not always maintain the

military discipline to the letter and was punished more than once but I was displeased with our superior so that I never regretted my misdeed. I was very sad to think that my heart would grow wild and sneaking.

In such a collective life in which the person was kept constantly busy, the equipment was apt to be lost before one was aware. In such a case, having no time to look for our own things that disappeared we would go to another section or company and steal the things we were wanting for the sole purpose of arranging all things we had been issued by the Army, preparing for the inspection. The person whose government supply was stolen had to pick up somewhere the same kind of thing he had lost and same went on repeatedly until just before inspection. However, we were sometimes quite at a loss how to deal with the extra things. One of my comrades once got a cap from another soldier as his had disappeared while he was absent. But just before the time of inspection he found out his own in his blanket and this time he was very much upset how to hide the extra one because he had no time to return the cap to the soldier from whom he had stolen it.

It is the very famous proverb that "Abandoned by one deity but helped by another," but throughout my army life I was abandoned by every deity, because no inspection was held when I had perfectly prepared for it. Inspection was not only held while we were working but even at midnight. The busiest time in a day was from the time when we were awakened to the morning roll call . . . and therefore some of us (of course including me) came to slip into bed with our trousers and socks on, though it was prohibited. I flattered myself now because I found it was very convenient in keeping off the cold as well as doing our morning duty quickly.

One night of February, we were suddenly awakened from our sound sleep by the probationary officer. "Get up everybody!" he yelled, tapping the floor with a bamboo-sword. "Get up," he yelled again, "and line up in front of each bed." Rubbing our half-sleeping eyes, we obeyed his order. But I found most of us wearing the trousers and some were even wearing their gowns. Suddenly in the bright light, flashed his bamboo-sword. "You coward!" he roared out. "Never say die in such cold like this. I'll make you warm if you feel cold. Fall in outside in buff." I was very much surprised to think what he was going to want us to do, but we ought to obey the superior's order in any time. We slowly began to take off all the clothes we wore, being pinched with the cold.

We were running towards the pool, under the officer's supervision. Shivering with cold in the sharp whistling wind, I thought he would let us go around a pool. "Now, I'll make you warm," his deep voice sounded in the cold air. "Jump into the water!" We exchanged glances. "Hurry up!" His shouting was again heard from the edge of the pool. He was shaking his bamboo-sword there. "Hey Fukuyama!" he said to me, peering into the darkness. "What are you doing. Do you feel cold?"

"No sir!" I had no sooner cried so than I felt as if ice was placed on all over the lower part of my body from the breast. It was painful rather than cold.

"After reciting the five articles of the Imperial Rescript, you can jump up," this was the next order. I was wholly desperate.

"Damn it! Damn it!" repeating in my heart, I got through it at last and jumped up. Dripping water fell from my body. My teeth clattered and knees knocked together. So did others.

Nobody became cold after that.

When an epidemic broke out in our company about four months after I enlisted, we were ordered to take our blankets out and air them out in the sun to be disinfected, every morning before we assembled for roll call. That was the time, I was never before so humiliated. On that morning, we, like a wild cat, carrying the blankets on our shoulders ran to attention in front of the weekly officer. Having no time to carry my blankets along the passageway because of the crowd, I tossed them out of the window.

Now, this is one of the most strictly prohibited offences and unfortunately I was caught in the act by the weekly officer. "What are you doing, Fukuyama?"

"Yes sir," I answered, saying "Damn it!" in my heart.

"What are you doing, you heard me!"

"Yes sir. I—I just tossed my blankets out of the window."

"I trust that you already know that it is strictly prohibited?"

"Yes sir, but I thought that was the quickest way."

All of a sudden, I felt a blow across my face from a bamboo-sword and another one, hearing the snappish words of "You meant to disobey our order." And again. This time I was struck on my forehead and could not explain how outrageous I then felt. Thinking that the coming blow would surely make me unconscious, I avoided it in spite of myself, but it was my fatal mistake for ten or eleven blows were dealt to me, making me quite unconscious.

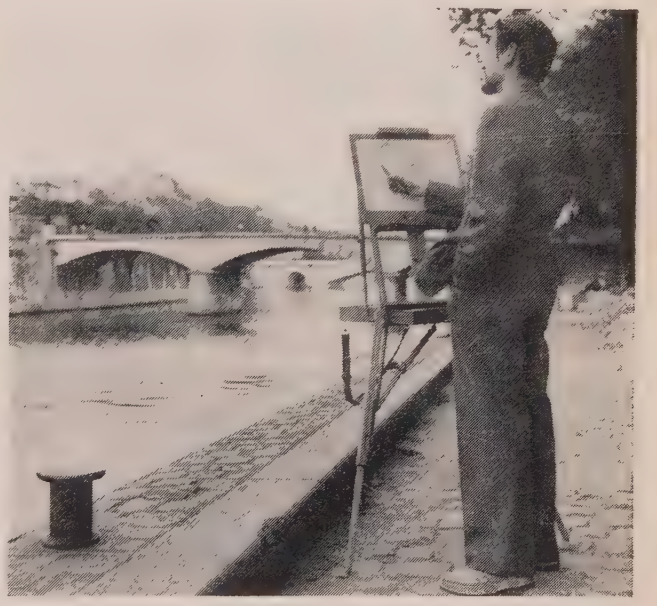
But to suffer by watching our fellow comrades getting whipped was to me, far more worse than to get the beating myself. It used to make me furious to see my friends endure sufferings caused by senior officers when everybody was around, especially at roll-call at night, but nothing could be done about it by us. After coming back to our own room where there weren't any superior officers, to speak ill of the senior officer who had slapped us on that day was our only diversion.

During my life in the Army, it is impossible to say how many times I was beaten. I have told you about my first experience of being slapped, so I will confess here, by the way, as to my last experience of it in the Army life. I was slapped on the very day when the Imperial Rescript declared the capitulation of Japan. As we had been bombed intensively from the day before, our needed sleep was often interrupted in the trenches by mosquitoes and extensive heat as well as bombs. In the morning, we were ordered by a weekly officer to fall in assembly, but I was late from lack of sleep. As punishment I received a hard blow on my face as usual. The scar as a result of it is still visible on my face but I now think little of it because I'm proud to think that the last person to be slapped in the Imperial Army was myself.

Young Americans on the Left Bank again

At the City of Students in Paris, U. S. veterans from every state of the union are learning to be painters, fashion designers and diplomats.

Ex-G.I.s, left to right: Herbert Gentry, Lawson Mooney, Richard Taylor, Alex Costa and Gertrude Andrews (former WAC)



Taylor, formerly a sergeant, sketches a familiar scene along the Seine. He affects the Parisian student's beard and sandals

Mark Behm (with a cigarette behind his ear) is an ex-G.I. from Trenton, N. J. who wants to become a movie camerman

Most of the students cook their own dinners. Costa, Taylor and Gentry join other students in the bread ration line

Sightseeing is an important part of the students' schedule. Taylor points out the Franklin D. Roosevelt subway station

Ex-soldier from Pittsburgh, G. Herschelle (right), who studies dress design, shows his latest creation to a group of friends

Mooney spends most of his time studying hard to be a diplomat. However, he is not blind to other Parisian attractions

After hours, students relax at the American Pavilion at the City of Students. This act climaxes the popular "carpet dance"

The Battle Of Ideologies II:

There are five major political ideologies represented within the United Nations, each trying to make its dogma understood by the rest of the world. These ideologies are: 1) Communism; 2) Capitalist Democracy; 3) Socialism; 4) Absolute Monarchy; 5) Military, Personal and Fascist Dictatorships.

Cutting across the lines dividing these systems are a variety of political influences: religious currents, imperialist and anti-imperialist tendencies, conflicting nationalisms of many kinds.

The Editors of UNITED NATIONS WORLD present objective analyses of each system, without reference to the partisanship which usually attends such discussions. The first article of the series, "World Communism", appeared in the December, 1947 issue.

Capitalist Democracy

BY THE EDITORS OF UNITED NATIONS WORLD

ONE of the major phenomena of the past year is the fact that the capitalist system which appeared to be doomed in large parts of the world only two years ago, is regaining its strength on an international scale. The tendency toward nationalization of vast sectors of industry and finance, particularly in Europe, has been greatly retarded. The very strength and importance of the United States—champion of the system of capitalist private enterprise—and its role in the reconstruction of war-devastated areas, was one of the decisive factors in the reversing of the trend toward nationalization. The profound ideological differences between the communist regimes on the one side and the socialist systems on the other, have been another decisive factor in changing what seemed an almost inevitable world wide trend toward abandonment of the capitalist system at the end of World War II.

Contrary to the assumption of many Americans that capitalism exists almost nowhere outside of the continental boundaries of the U.S.A., and that it is being replaced either by completely or partially nationalized economies, the private enterprise system is still prevalent in well over two-thirds of the earth.

The fact is that 1,100,000,000 inhabitants of this earth still live under systems of full private enterprise. There are another 712 million inhabitants of our planet living in countries most of whose economic functions are still privately controlled. Only 302 million live in countries whose economies are nationalized. Of these only about 200 million live under a *completely* nationalized economy, while 104 million live under a *mostly* nationalized economy. (Refer to map on pp. 32-33). Thus, the economic picture of our world today is one in which capitalism and private enterprise are still by far the predominant forms of economic and political organization.

Capitalism, of course, differs vastly in various parts of the world depending on wealth and natural resources, climate, geographic position, technical skill of the people, general standards of living and social and cultural institutions. It has, however, certain basic characteristics.

Capitalism may be defined as an economic system under which the means of production and distribution

GREENLAND
NORWAY
ALASKA
CANADA
GREAT BRITAIN
EIRE
BELGIUM
FRANCE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Mediterranean Sea
U.S.A.
MEXICO
CUBA
Atlantic Ocean
Pacific Ocean
VENEZUELA
COLOMBIA
GUIANA
PERU
BRAZIL
BOLIVIA
CHILE
PARAGUAY
URUGUAY
ARGENTINA
RIO DE ORO
FRENCH W
KEY
Ownership of Major Productive Enterprises
PRIVATE
MOSTLY PRIVATE
MOSTLY NATIONALIZED
FULLY NATIONALIZED
Map by James Cutter

Free Ent

rise in Today's World

are privately owned, managed and directed. This ownership is exercised within the framework of complete legal guarantees of the rights of private property. The basic incentive under this free enterprise system is the expectation of profits and the basic reward is the protection of legally accumulated wealth.

THE system of capitalism is still relatively young in human history. It dates back to the seventeenth century, growing out of the vestiges of feudal society. It received its first impetus with the vast revival of trade following the discovery of America. But its principal impetus came from the industrial revolution.

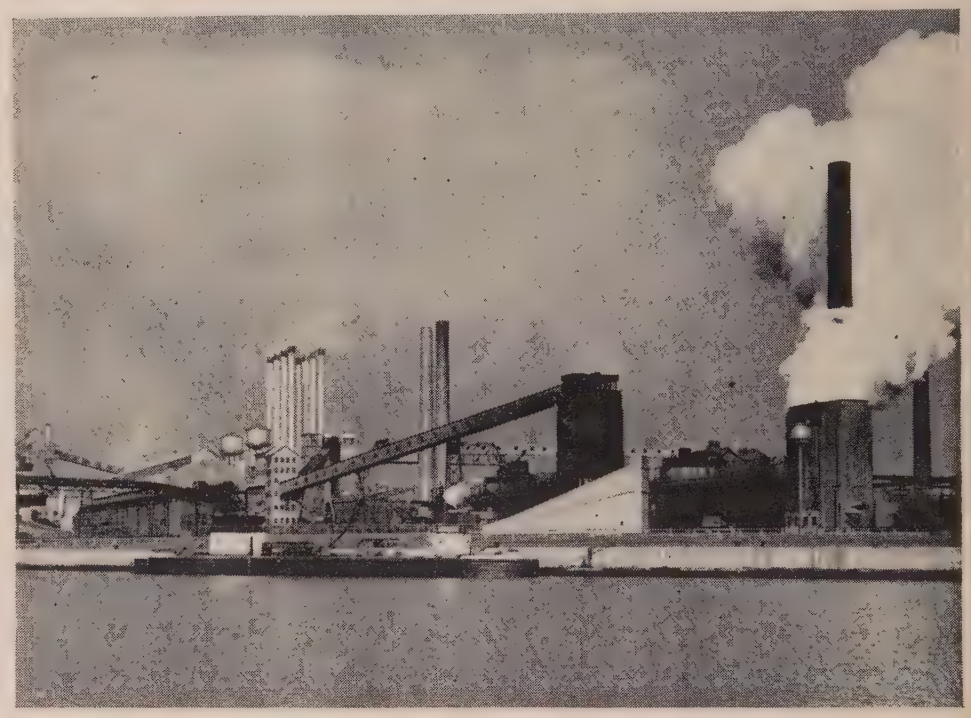
Capitalism has undergone considerable changes since the days of Adam Smith, who considered that the best way of obtaining the maximum and most efficient production was to leave the individual completely free to operate economically exactly as he chose with a minimum of governmental interference.

Such a concept was possible in an age in which economic processes were still relatively simple, where the machine had not yet almost completely transformed the very nature of human effort, where the patriarchal system of remuneration was still prevalent.

Today, with the technological development of our society, even the freest capitalist system is regulated by a certain number of laws governing hours of work, social security, insurance against accidents and innumerable legal protections which have become necessary adjuncts of the machine age. However, capitalism has always resisted every attempt to limit permanently the basic right to acquire and accumulate such wealth as can be obtained through the free play of competition.

As far as political institutions are concerned, the system of capitalism has been mainly associated with political democracy in all those areas where natural resources were abundant, and where big profits and raised living standards were possible and compatible. In those areas where there is a dearth of economic resources, or over-population, capitalism has resorted to favoring non-democratic institutions, the most characteristic examples of which were to be found, before World War II, in Italy, Germany and Japan.

Thus capitalism is basically adaptable to every form of political regime, with the exception, of course of complete socialism and communism. Democratic capitalism exists in the U.S.A., Switzerland and Canada and, in modified form, in many other countries of the world. Capitalism is accompanied by political dictatorship in Spain, Portugal, Siam and elsewhere, in the form of feudal monarchy in some of the Arabian countries.



Private ownership in the U. S. ranges from Ford's great River Rouge plant (above)

THE ideological differentiations within the capitalist world are determined by the respective economic situations in the various countries. There are today at least four different categories of capitalism and free enterprise, each of which has its own distinctive characteristics:

1. *Abundant capitalism.* The economic systems of the U.S.A., Canada and Switzerland are characterized at present by full employment, comparatively high living standards, expanding productive capacity and production, increased consumption in almost all sectors of economic life, amortization of the national debt, and a reduction of budgetary deficits on national, state and local levels. Capitalism in the U.S. is further characterized by the absolutely unique feature of vast gold reserves which, backed by the industrial strength and productive capacity of the country, constitutes a full guarantee of the stability of the dollar currency. The value of the dollar could be impaired only by a unilateral decision of the U.S. itself to devaluate it, either for internal reasons—such as inflationary pressure—or in order to make it easier for outside purchasers to buy goods in the U.S.

2. *Sufficiency capitalism.* This group comprises countries such as the Scandinavian nations and Australia where, despite the fact that socialist or labor governments have been in power for long periods, no decisive nationalization has taken place (with the exception of a first step in Australia, toward nationalization of banks). In these countries relative sufficiency, high industrial and agricultural development and monetary stability are still the major characteristics (with the exception of war-devasted Norway).

England, France and Italy, despite considerable nationalization of industrial and financial sectors, have still preserved many of the main features of a free enterprise economy. In his day by day dealings, the average citizen still works within the framework and

with the mentality of a member of a capitalist society.

3. *Low standard capitalism.* This group of capitalist countries comprises Latin America, with the exception of Argentina and Mexico, where important nationalizations have taken place. Capitalism has not achieved full development in Latin America. Living conditions are, by and large, sub-standard. Productive capacity is still at a very low point. Natural resources of many Latin American countries have not been developed to any considerable extent, and gold reserves are insignificant. Depending on world stability and international trade, however, some of the Latin American countries, particularly Brazil and Chile, may well be able to enter the category of more abundant capitalist countries, within a relatively short time.

4. *Retarded capitalism.* Spain, Portugal, China, India and various Arabian countries come under the category of countries in which living standards are still very low, where the economic system is in serious crisis, and where full employment is still far out of reach.

. . . to the small business of this veteran who launched it on borrowed capital.

WHILE it is very difficult to apply a common denominator to economic and political systems which are as vastly different as those of the U.S.A. and Saudi Arabia, it is nevertheless possible to establish the basic strength and weaknesses of a modern capitalist society operating under relatively favorable conditions. They are as follows:

Strengths

1. The urge to produce and distribute goods in large quantities because of the profit motive.

2. Individual incentive to work in order to obtain a maximum amount of goods and services.

3. Social stability resulting from legal protection of private property, plus the incentive of inheritance rights.

4. Savings and profits resulting in greater economic independence and in higher standards of living, contributing to the growth of individual productivity and higher craftsmanship.

5. Rapid flow and exchange of consumer goods resulting in new enterprises and further production of goods.

6. Freedom of competition in all fields of human endeavor tending toward reduction of prices and higher quality.

Weaknesses

1. Concentration of wealth leading toward monopolies resulting in decrease of competitive and individual free enterprise.

2. Difficulty in correcting injustices of the system without infringing upon individual freedom of initiative—the basic premise of capitalism.

3. Lack of control of the absorption of goods by consumers resulting in depressions, crises and widespread unemployment.

4. Failure to eradicate economic sub-standard conditions among huge segments of the population—parallel to great accumulation of corporate and individual wealth.

5. Resistance to economic and social projects destined to benefit the community as a whole.

6. Deficiencies in the legal system (patents) which retard technological development and a higher standard of living.

THE effects of the discoveries of atomic energy on the capitalist system cannot be evaluated as yet, any more than they can with regard to the communist system. The general historic development, however, shows that only those capitalist societies which are based on the system of political democracy can survive and adapt themselves to new industrial discoveries, of which a vast number are in the making.

The major test of capitalist society will be its ability to prevent a new worldwide crisis and a new world war. Even today, no country has yet fully overcome the consequences of the great economic depression of the early '30's. The war boom has altered the situation by increasing production, but even at present the degree of recovery cannot be estimated because of the devastation of vast areas of the earth and the ensuing need for reconstruction, without even taking into account the new armaments race which threatens to develop.

A new world war would decisively weaken, if not alter completely, the system of capitalist democracy. The very nature of an atomic war would require the utmost concentration of all available resources in the hands of the state, and perhaps the abrogation of customary democratic and civil rights. Therefore, we saw in the case of communism last month, capitalism also depends for its survival on the maintenance of peace.

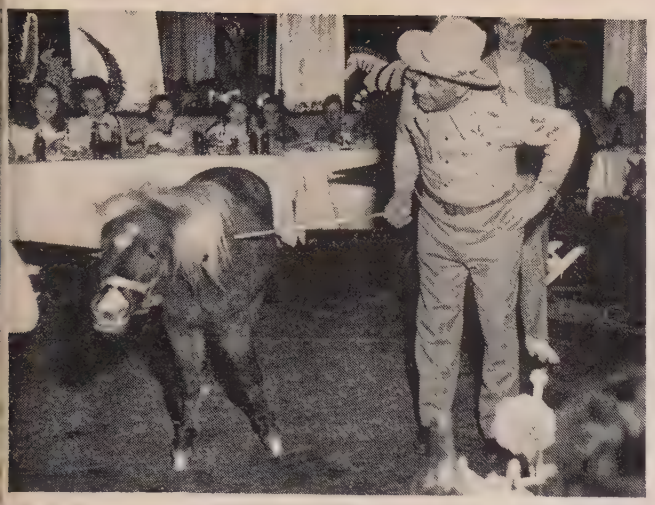
Party for the Little UN Set

One afternoon last month 100 children of UN delegates and workers attended an ice cream and cake party at Manhattan's Stork Club as guests of a soft drink concern. The youngsters, 3 to 12 years old, from all over the world, were entertained by clowns, ma gicians, and animals, and engaged in a competition fo toys. In many languages, they agreed that it was th best party any of them had ever attended, anywhere

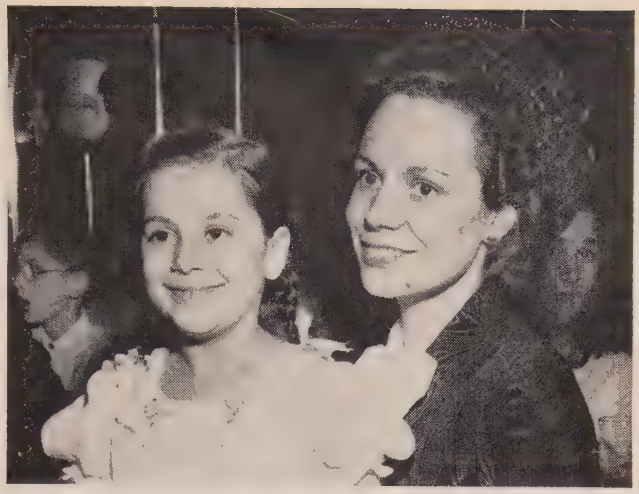
Tooting clown's rubber pants blow up.

Ivan Storovo of Russia gets tied up.

Five-year-old Jerry Wang, son of a Chinese interpreter, goggles at the magician



The tricks of a live pony were the biggest hit of the party.



Excited Brazilian Maria Silva had to be held down by mother.

Sons of Ukraine's Valentine Chigansky show wide-eyed wonder.

Young Frenchmen Eric and Oliver Servoise politely greet lion.

Nine-year-old British Juniper Alexander never lost her poise.

Helen Kalabala of British East Africa won balloon test.

Well?

State of the World

Inside reports and analyses of world events you may not find in your newspapers.

Report from Paris

General De Gaulle's prospects of return to power have been considerably delayed by the order given by the communist-led French Central Trade Union Organization (*Confederation Generale du Travail*) to all strikers to return to work. Before the strike was called off, non-communist Co-Secretary General of the French trade unions, Léon Jouhaux—who played a principal part at the UN as one of the five delegates of France—pleaded with his communist colleagues, calling their attention to the fact that if the moderate Schuman cabinet should fall in the midst of a strike, the President of the Republic would be forced to summon De Gaulle to form a new government.

There was a noticeable conflict among French communist leaders on this decision, which was not easily reached. One group, led by André Marty, insisted that the strike was popular with the French workers, and that calling it off completely would signally weaken the position of the communist following among the workers. But Thorez, just back from Moscow, and Frachon, communist Co-Secretary General of the Confederation, finally succeeded in obtaining complete communist acquiescence to ending the strike.

In moderate French circles it is thought that as long as General De Gaulle fails to strengthen his alliance with genuine democratic forces and to purge his ranks of former collaborators who have infiltrated into them, he will be unable to obtain the necessary majority in the present National Assembly to form a government.

With the strike over, leading French circles are now optimistic about the immediate prospects. They point to an old adage, "The French worker never strikes twice in one year unless he wins the first one."

French leaders of the various parties feel that the relative ease with which the country has extricated itself from what appeared to be the brink of civil war has considerably strengthened the Fourth Republic. The only catastrophe France now fears is the possible failure to put through the Marshall Plan. (See page 17)

Report from London

The Labor Government, which was near panic after the municipal elections, has now regained its composure. The results of the recent by-elections, as well as the achievement of one of the highest monthly coal and steel production figures in British history, has immeasurably strengthened the Labor Cabinet and bolstered Prime Minister Attlee's personal position.

Sir Stafford Cripps and his staff are now convinced that before December 31 Britain may pass the 200 million ton coal production goal which was set for 1947. The phenomenal increase during the last few weeks is attributed to the adoption of compulsory labor legislation, plus effective increases in the wage scale of the miners.

The personal influence of Sir Stafford Cripps within the Cabinet is growing. His main theme is that Britain's role in the present period is not so much one of active politicking in domestic or international fields, but of regaining its economic strength. British negotiators abroad have been instructed to concentrate on large-scale trade negotiations, regardless of ideological differences. Harold Wilson, President of the British Board of Trade, came back from Moscow with an optimistic report, and expressed his feeling that the existence of international tension actually creates a favorable climate for effective trade negotiations with Russia and her satellites.

Both the trade agreements with Poland and Czechoslovakia are running very satisfactorily, and vital foodstuffs and raw materials are beginning to flow into England. The Minister for Air, Philip Noel-Baker, is at work on a long-range plan of closer cooperation with the members of the Commonwealth, and if present negotiations continue as successfully as they began, there may be an overall Commonwealth conference at the beginning of 1948, attended chiefly by industrial and financial representatives of the dominions.

Report from Prague

The position of President Benes has been considerably strengthened because of the decision of the Communist Party leadership to avoid, for the present, a test of strength with the non-communist parties in the coalition government. Mr. Benes, whose state of health was so precarious a few weeks ago that serious fears were expressed for his life, has made a good recovery, and is now embarked upon a plan of reconciliation of the various political parties. His feeling is that the international situation in Czechoslovakia requires, at all costs, a genuine coalition government, and that no group is strong enough to govern by itself within the democratic system.

Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk, was welcomed home more warmly than had been expected. Rumors that he did not dare to go back, that he would be compelled to resign upon his return, or that he might even be arrested, proved to be erroneous. What he reported to Prague, was that not Russia alone, but that both blocs were responsible for the present situation, and that easing of the tension can come only from a reorientation of policies by both sides.

Report from Rome

The Italian political situation was considerably influenced by the

outcome of the strike situation in France, and by the triumph of Premier Schuman's government. However, political circles in Rome think that the Schuman coalition, which includes Socialists, is in a much stronger position to resist a wave of strikes than Premier De Gasperi's Cabinet with its comparatively thin popular support. Therefore, intense negotiations are proceeding to win Republican Randolfo Pacciardi, Socialist Right Winger Saragat and, if possible, some of Socialist Left-winger Nenni's supporters for an enlarged coalition.

Pacciardi has been offered many important Cabinet posts by De Gasperi, despite the numerical weakness of his Republican Party. Realizing the psychological importance of his joining the Cabinet, Pacciardi, however, will settle for nothing less than the portfolios of the Interior, Finance or Army. He has flatly rejected the idea of becoming Minister of State without Portfolio.

Report from South America

The nations of the Southern Continent will be watching with avid interest the expected meeting in Montevideo of Communist leaders from all Latin American countries, constituting a Western Hemisphere Cominform. Reports emanating from "high political circles" in Rio suggest that the meeting will be held when the Brazilian Congress annuls the mandates of Communist legislators. It is supposed that Prestes, Brazilian communist leader, will preside. Montevideo is also the headquarters of a Soviet-organized pan-Slav workers' union, according to Chilean Minister of the Interior Holgar. Despite these reports, Communist strength in Uruguay appears to have waned.

Although there is no hint of serious trouble for his regime, Perón is having difficulty coping with discontent of farm and industrial workers. The workers who were won over to his side two years ago with promises of wage increases and of double salary at Christmas (now law) have discovered that the cost of living has risen much faster than their incomes. There have been a number of strikes, none of long duration. Farmers have drastically reduced acreage sown to grain.

Their spokesmen say that while Perón has improved the lot of industrial and commercial workers he has done nothing for the farmers. They complain, too, that the government's low domestic purchase price really means the confiscation of two bags of grain in every three, while its high export prices are forcing foreign buyers to stimulate their own grain production. The government forecasts that the 1946-7 crop will be 17 per cent under last year's. Farm spokesmen think this very optimistic.

Report from China

Political confusion, and a worsening economic situation were responsible for the recall of T. V. Soong to the public service. He has been made governor of the vitally important but completely disorganized Province of Kwantung, which includes commercially strategic Canton. Western-educated Soong, who has innumerable enemies in the Kuomintang and in the entourage of Chiang Kai-shek, was given this post because he is a top-notch administrator. For some time it was expected that he might be sent abroad to resume the negotiations with the U. S. which he conducted during the war. But Soong feels that he has already lived too long abroad and that before reappearing on the international scene he must strengthen his domestic position.

In the meantime, the very foundations of the Nationalist regime are being constantly weakened by corruption of government officials, by skyrocketing prices and by the slump of Chinese currency to the all-time low of C$73,000 to U.S.$1. The Chinese Department of Justice is struggling valiantly but helplessly against the wave of corruption. In the last two years it has brought to trial more than 17,000 civilian government officials—36 per cent of whom were found guilty and punished. The army is keeping secret its records on corruption, but it is known that those apprehended are punished very severely. Serious offenders are promptly executed.

Dissolution of the middle-of-the-road Democratic League has proved a serious mistake. Leaders of the now illegal organization from which Secretary Marshall had expected so much, complain that they are forced to resort to communist underground methods in order to continue their political activities.

Report from Cairo

Before the most important meeting in the history of the Pan-Arab League, the foreign ministers were invited by King Farouk to a private conference at his palace. They were urged by the young Egyptian monarch to maintain a united front before the outside world, and to make it clear that every one of the members of the Arab League is organizing military units for the invasion of Palestine on the day the British troops leave.

However, Arab circles are extremely worried over the appearance of four separate plans for the future of Palestine.

Transjordan aims to take over the whole of Palestine, or at least the territories granted to the future Arab State by the General Assembly, by means of its British-trained Arab Legion.

Saudi Arabia wants common action by all Arab States in Palestine, with an administration under an Arab League-appointed government.

A third force, which, strangely enough, finds itself in opposition to the other members of the Arab League, is the Mufti of Jerusalem, who would like to gain exclusive control over the whole of Palestine for himself.

Syria still hopes that "limited military threats without action" may result in a change of the UN decision on partition and the establishment of a federal state.

Despite these contradictions within the Arab League, the basic decision of all its members is to mobilize their forces for action.

The Arab League is also planning to appeal to Turkey and Pakistan for assistance, and to mobilize a corps of volunteers in North Africa with the help of Abd el Krim, who recently escaped from a French ship which was taking him to permanent residence in Southern France.

The legal department of the Arab League has discovered Article 51 of the UN Charter. In a highly confidential memorandum to Arab leaders, it draws attention to the fact that a Jewish State in Palestine, once established could ask all UN members for assistance.

Eamon de Valera, Eire's Premier wants Irish unification and UN membership.

EIRE WANTS IN

Cobblestones are traditional weapons in Belfast, stronghold of minority Catholics

BY DEVERE ALLEN
Writer on International Affairs

Although Eire wholeheartedly believes her wartime neutrality policy was right, today she is ready for full participation in U. N.

Sir Basil Brooke, North Ireland chief, opposes Catholics, labor and Irish unity.

"Our country is not a redwood in the forest of the nations: it is only a bush by the stream of international affairs. But bushes can shade the stream, and in time of flood can help determine its course." In these words an official of Prime Minister Eamon de Valera's government tried to explain how the Irish feel.

Eire has long stressed the special usefulness of the little countries. Mr. de Valera himself once described the keen satisfaction he took at Geneva in joint work with the small member states of the former League. Now, his government is ready to enter the United Nations whenever it is welcome. "Not as an eager move on our own behalf, but as a duty to world peace. There will be no other chance for world organization for decades to come, and the United Nations must be made to work."

But Eire will never approach the UN as a supplicant. Turned down twice by the opposition of Russia, she still wants to come in. Among many Irishmen, in and out of the regime, not only at Dublin but in all parts of Eire, there is resentment at the delay in receiving their country on a basis of full equality. If you point out that the Russians are sensitive over the lack of diplomatic intercourse, you are referred to an incident in the League of Nations which the outside world may not recall, but of which Irish leaders are well aware. On September 12, 1934, at Geneva, Mr. de Valera not only supported the proposal to admit Russia, but declared the Soviet Government should be guaranteed against a rebuff. "Russia, like any other State, great or small," said de Valera at that time, "naturally wants to assure herself, before applying, that she is not to be subjected to the humiliation of having her application rejected." In Irish eyes, the current impasse affords a glaring contrast.

Neutrality, Right or Wrong!

There is one thing outsiders may as well understand. Almost the en-

tire nation, rightly or wrongly, backed wartime neutrality.

Moreover, events since the end of the conflict have confirmed most Irishmen in their belief that neutrality was right. Some of the few who were doubtful before are now convinced. "Remember the way we were told," people will ask, "that if we came into the war, we would have a part in shaping the peace? Well, what part in that task is now permitted the small nations which participated, including some which suffered and sacrificed the most?"

In another war, would Eire again stay neutral? That, of course, is a question to which no specific answer is now possible. One prominent spokesman for the government said to the writer, however, that should such a tragedy occur, it would be due to a breakdown of the UN machinery. "If we enter the UN, we shall, in any case, adhere faithfully to its responsibilities. Our request for membership was made with the backing of every party in the Dail. And when we talked out our decision, we faced the fact that on some occasions we might be required to act, in one form of compulsion or another, against a country with which we were on friendly terms. We did not decide lightly. But, once in, we must do whatever is demanded of full participants."

Inevitably in Eire, as elsewhere, discussion soon comes round to the danger of a conflict between the U. S. and Soviet Russia. Would Eire, with a population nearly 94 percent Catholic, look upon such a war as a Christian crusade? Several Catholics who hold public posts were of the opinion that certain top leaders of the Church might easily so decide, but that the rank and file wanted to have no part in a vast new struggle, and would work feverishly to avoid it.

Are there really Nazis still at large in Eire, as one sometimes hears? Almost the last out-and-out Hitlerite killed himself recently, when facing deportation to Germany. Irishmen point out, with a chuckle, that the only hooked crosses you will see are those on the sides of a laundry truck, which belongs to the old Swastika firm, established, as one Dublin writer said, "when Hitler was in rompers."

Yet you find, as in most other countries, disquieting tendencies among a minority. The *Irish Press,* for example, is a stalwart defender of Fianna Fail. Its New York correspondent, last year, praised the activities of an American priest because he had gone to the defense of Father Coughlin when the latter "was the victim of many unscrupulous attacks." One minor party, the *Clann na Talmhan,* strong enough to have beaten Fianna Fail in a by-election, and, thanks to proportional representation, to have representatives in the Dail, bases its public appeals on the well known Fascist formula of a spurious economic liberalism, tinctured with race prejudice. One of its most vocal "T.D.s," as members of the Dail are called, declared not long ago that the two major parties were "working for the same class of people—the Jews, the money grabbers and the land grabbers."

Partition Is Eire's Sore Thumb

Neutrality, to the majority of Irishmen, does not mean isolationism. The Taoiseach in his latest budget for the Department of External Affairs called for expansion of its activities and increased appropriations. Not only for developing world trade is this widened scope requested, but for heightened cultural and diplomatic relations. Mr. de Valera announced with obvious satisfaction that his government had entered into agreements with France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Sweden and Denmark for the abolition of passports. He hopes for more international travel, in and out of Eire, by students, sports teams, and various organizations, and has a plan through which Eire will issue collective passports to simplify frontier formalities.

When you speak of foreign affairs in Eire, first and foremost on the horizon looms the ever-present issue of Partition. No matter what subject an Irishman touches, that sore thumb is always in the way. Slumbering beneath the surface, the old animosities over the separation after World War I, of Northern Ireland from the South were fanned to new heat by a bill introduced last June in the British House of Commons. Oddly enough, this measure was in the main equally satisfying to Dublin and to Stormont, the Northern legislative capital. Its aim was to grant further regulatory powers to Northern Ireland, in order to facilitate a vast hydro-electric project involving both North and South, and destined to benefit both populations. But 200 Members of the British House, chiefly of the Labor Party, saw the bill as a chance to air some of the anti-democratic practices of the conservative Unionist rulers.

What most aroused the critics was the cynical gerrymandering of electoral districts. Northern Ireland had once used proportional representation, but summarily gave it up when it afforded chances for minority expression that could otherwise be denied. In County Antrim, for example, there are now no repre-

Motors are rare on Irish farms.

sentatives for 39,000 Catholic Nationalists, while 32,000 Protestant Unionists have seven. One neat device used by the controlling machine is that of plural votes for corporations; a business firm may have ten votes, though each of its members still votes, in addition, as a tax-paying resident.

Religious prejudices were often ameliorated in the common struggle for independence. In the eighteenth century, whole detachments of Presbyterian troops often attended mass in a body, for the sole reason of showing their solidarity. Partition has replaced all that by an inflamed and often exaggerated fear, both among Catholics and Protestants. The Protestants shake in their shoes at the ambition of Eire for a "united Ireland," and see as a menace, not only the vigorous minority in their midst, but the overwhelming Catholic power to the South. Their alarm sometimes is translated into the most vicious

forms of bigotry; and, in the North, the present Prime Minister, Sir Basil Brooke, once said at a public gathering, "Many in the audience employ Catholics, but I have not one about the place."

Irish Economy

Like other countries, notwithstanding its comparative normality during the war, Eire is experiencing a rise in the cost of living. During the years of conflict, wages and prices were frozen, except for occasional wage adjustments, perhaps amounting to an increase, here and there, of twenty percent. But on the whole, since 1939, wages have gone up about fifty percent, as against a rise in living costs of seventy-six percent. Since the abandonment of the freezing law in the fall of 1946, however, wages have gone up consistently faster than prices. Unemployment is, in fact, actually less than in the United States, in proportion to the entire population. In the summer it stands at about 44,000 out of 3,000,000 people, but in the winter, when some of the smallholders have to go on the dole, it rises to above 70,000.

Basically, though, the people are far from well off, and the national economy is handicapped for want of industrialization and improved farm production. A lack of abundant local capital for industrial investment through private enterprise has resulted, perforce, in a measure of socialization through state financing of electrification and other projects. This year, for the first time, the energetic Minister of Finance, Frank Aiken, has set aside $32,000,000 for state investment in agricultural development. Farm workers have had their wages raised to a level described even by the Socialists as inconceivable only a few years ago. A huge program for the digging and storing of peat, over ten years, some of it eventually to be burned for electric power, holds great promise, though it has got under way slowly. But shortages of many kinds, some of them worse now than during the war, continue to bedevil those who plan improvements.

How much headway opposition parties will make in the general elections to the Dail scheduled for early this year is anybody's guess. De Valera, who has been ruling with less than an absolute majority, may be in for trouble, since his Fianna Fail lost 2 out of 3 recent by—elections to the new Clann na Poblachta which stresses full employment and better all-around working and living conditions for the masses.

Many Irish read the British press.

Dublin passers-by pay little attention to an urgent appeal to use the Gaelic tongue.

Gaelic Is Going

In one respect, Mr. de Valera's almost fanatical insistence on reviving the old national spirit has come a cropper. The most urgent appeals, coupled with a 25-year-old law for the compulsory teaching of Gaelic in the schools, have failed to bring about any enthusiasm on the part of his fellow-countrymen. In the Gaeltacht, that section, mainly western, where the language is widely used, it is hardly holding its own, and in the rest of the country it continues to decline.

There is a case for the revival of Gaelic among scholars and advanced students. Nor could anyone dissent from the irritation shown when, quite needlessly, English names are given to Irish ships or places rich in Irish historic association. A new airport was recently called "Weston." But it is all in vain to say, as the ardent advocates of this language revival put it, *Gan teanga, gan tir*, "No language, no country." Many loyal Irishmen, like the distinguished writer Donal O'Sullivan, believe in the use of Gaelic in the right place, but cannot concede that language is necessarily coincidental with nationality. As for the masses, Gaelic "just goes in one ear and out the other."

The Dail continues to conduct its deliberations in English, while, symbolically, Queen Victoria's monument, one of the few spared by the bombing in the rebellion, sits sedately on the front lawn. No one dreams of changing such names as that of the old Queen's Theatre, where Sir Henry Irving performed, and where the marching song of the First World War, "It's a Long, Long Way to Tipperary," had its initial presentation. Fruitlessly do the partisans of Gaelic turn, for examples to exploit, to South Africa with its Afrikaans, Wales with its Welsh, or Brittany with its Breton. Most Irishmen seem to agree with the dictum of a recent stage success, in which one character says of another: "He doesn't need to speak Irish; he can speak English so it can't be understood." As a matter of fact, Dublin is warrantably proud of its English diction, reputedly the best in the world.

Inescapably, the trend, if slow, is toward a constant internationalization of outlook. Still national and neutral, Eire does not want to be a "backwater," as one writer calls it, but a vigorous partner in international progress. If her mind is on her own particular problems, if her fight for freedom is still warm in her consciousness because it is still uncompleted, she steadily moves toward greater sharing in the world's affairs.

The Cobra's Festival

BY DONALD C. TOWNSEND

We have just passed Nagpanchami, the fifth day of Shravan, dedicated to the worship of the *Naga* or Cobra, and the monsoon, which has been steadily gaining force for these past two summer months, is now at its height.

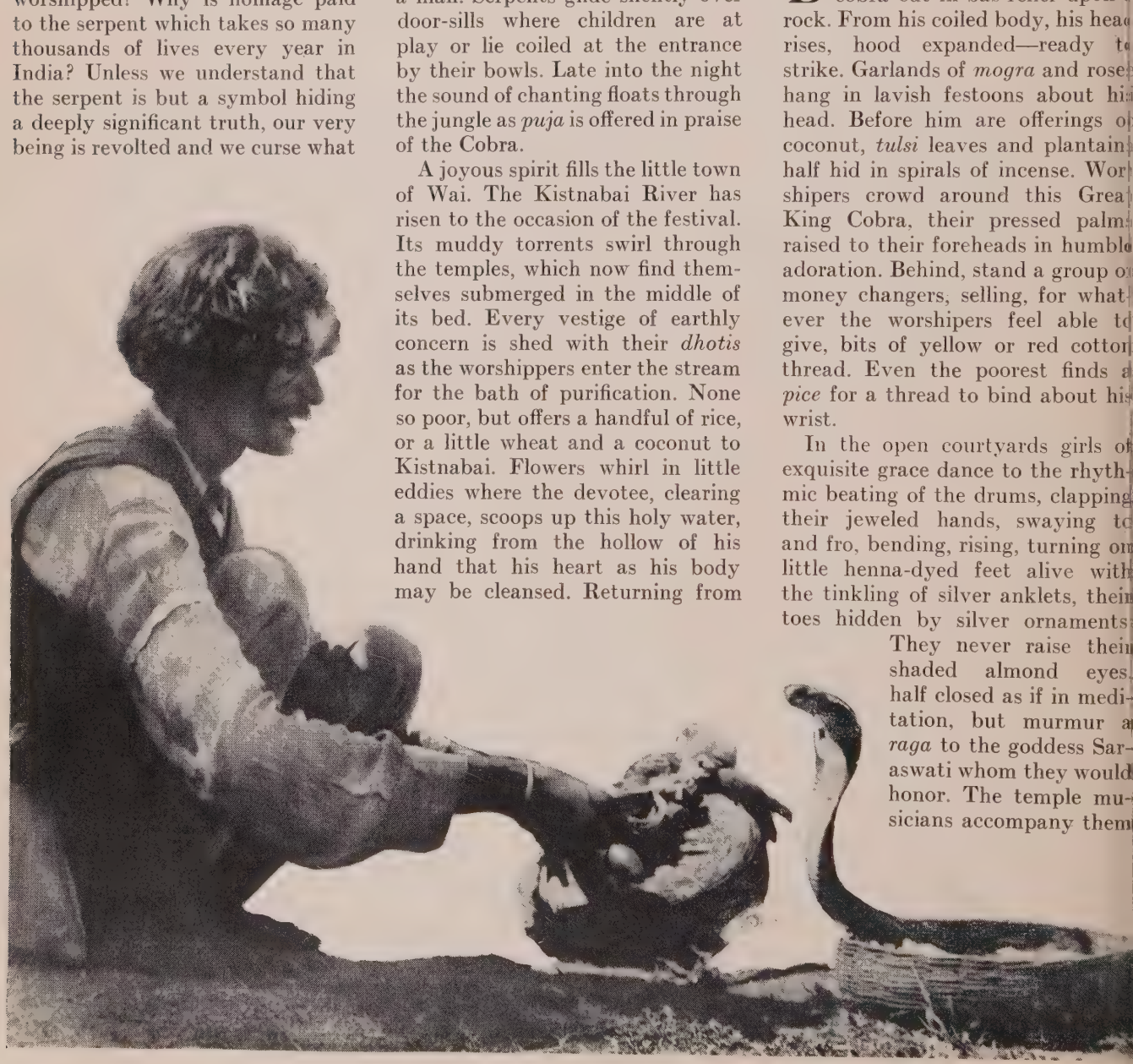
But what is Nagpanchami, and why is the Cobra, of all creatures, worshipped? Why is homage paid to the serpent which takes so many thousands of lives every year in India? Unless we understand that the serpent is but a symbol hiding a deeply significant truth, our very being is revolted and we curse what in our ignorance we term dark superstition.

On Nagpanchami no serpent can be killed. At entrances of temples and humble mud huts, bowls of milk are offered that he may feast. Nor, if he should enter a home, is he driven out. It is believed that on this day no serpent will sting a man. Serpents glide silently over door-sills where children are at play or lie coiled at the entrance by their bowls. Late into the night the sound of chanting floats through the jungle as *puja* is offered in praise of the Cobra.

A joyous spirit fills the little town of Wai. The Kistnabai River has risen to the occasion of the festival. Its muddy torrents swirl through the temples, which now find themselves submerged in the middle of its bed. Every vestige of earthly concern is shed with their *dhotis* as the worshippers enter the stream for the bath of purification. None so poor, but offers a handful of rice, or a little wheat and a coconut to Kistnabai. Flowers whirl in little eddies where the devotee, clearing a space, scoops up this holy water, drinking from the hollow of his hand that his heart as his body may be cleansed. Returning from his ablutions, he enters one or another temple where priests stand waiting to receive his more substantial offerings. Rich and poor offer what they have—gold or bowls of savory, highly spiced rice —or a flower.

Before one shrine is a large cobra cut in bas-relief upon a rock. From his coiled body, his head rises, hood expanded—ready to strike. Garlands of *mogra* and rose hang in lavish festoons about his head. Before him are offerings of coconut, *tulsi* leaves and plantain half hid in spirals of incense. Worshipers crowd around this Great King Cobra, their pressed palms raised to their foreheads in humble adoration. Behind, stand a group of money changers, selling, for whatever the worshipers feel able to give, bits of yellow or red cotton thread. Even the poorest finds a *pice* for a thread to bind about his wrist.

In the open courtyards girls of exquisite grace dance to the rhythmic beating of the drums, clapping their jeweled hands, swaying to and fro, bending, rising, turning on little henna-dyed feet alive with the tinkling of silver anklets, their toes hidden by silver ornaments. They never raise their shaded almond eyes, half closed as if in meditation, but murmur a *raga* to the goddess Saraswati whom they would honor. The temple musicians accompany them



On Nagpanchami,—the day dedicated to the worship of the Great King Cobra,—the people of Wai in South India do him homage at a gala festival, their spirits undampened by the drenching monsoon rains.

with lively music, the rhythm happy, noise deafening but haunting.

Wearing priceless saris of heirloom Benares silk, heavily embroidered with deep gold-thread borders, the women pick their way between the pools of mud, their slender pink-tipped feet in sandals of crimson or green or golden leather. Their hair, freshly oiled and shining black, adorned with gold pins and strings of pearls, is drawn back from the forehead, and twisted to resemble a great serpent resting on the nape of the neck. In the nostril is worn a single diamond or a jeweled almond-shaped nose-ring; from the little ears hang pendant gems. On their necks are collars of gold inlaid with precious stones or ropes of pearls, their bared arms shining with gold bangles and bracelets bright with precious stones. Today, because they do not seek man's praise, they excite no envy in their poorer sisters, who gaze on their splendor with pride.

Even the beggars wear silver collars and bangles of gold. For the poor of India do not bank their money they save what they can, and purchase "jewelry"—and so much is this an accepted custom that tomorrow when these mendicants again beg for alms, slapping their bare stomachs to prove their hunger, none will reproach them.

THE street seems literally to undulate on the steep hill, like the serpent all have come to adore, as high caste and low and outcast, elbow each other or are pushed on their way to the river bank or temple, to sweet-shop or to shrine. All huddle together, sharing umbrellas in a particularly heavy down-pour—all save a few pucca Brahmins.

Children blow their shrill, ear-splitting whistles. Brass bands, more drums than brass, add to the din. Asthmatic organs lure the children to a merry-go-round whose headless horses and legless camels swing far out into the pelting rain. A ferris wheel equipped with swan-like boat-chairs lifts the children from the river's bank to bridge level where they come face to face with their friends and shout their greetings.

At every doorway squat men and women sell temple flowers, roses, jessamine, white *mogra* and that yellow *champak* bloom said to excite love's passions and therefore offered in profusion at every shrine.

WAI is essentially a town of pilgrimage. Its life revolves round its religious buildings. Hindus and Moslems know no enmity here. Whatever may dictate the communal life of the town, it is not Moslem-Hindu rivalries. We are transported back to that time when, as Jawaharlal Nehru writes in his *Discovery of India*, "Within the limited circle of the village there was an intimate relationship between the Hindus and Moslems. Caste did not come in the way and the Hindus looked upon the Moslems as belonging to another caste. . . . They joined each other's festivals and some semi-religious festivals were common to both."

The rain descends in all its monsoon fury, the tempestuous winds blowing it down the street. Tier on tier of stalls covered with sweetmeats fill every available window-sill, and wandering cows, sampling them blow full trays into the mud. Cloth and hardware shops have become toy-bazaars. Goats butt their way through the crowds attracted by the aroma of high-spiced curry in the hotels, where screeching phonographs grind out songs that seem to tell of life in hell. Ash-smeared holy men, mind inturned, wander unnoticed by the giant Pathan money-lenders intent on richer prey.

As a great ship looms without warning from a thick fog-bank and, passing by, is lost to sight and hearing, so from the gray rain looms without warning a double column of *khadi*-clad men behind their brilliant tricolor national flag. They pass singing national shibboleths and shouting political slogans. No one took any notice of them. Had they struck any note in today's celebration, it would have been one of discord, for Ancient India knew no such movement as Jai Prakash Narayan's militant Socialism. Today the great King Naga holds Wai in its coiling embrace, and these paraders, not recognizing him, receive no recognition in return.

Darkness descends with the rain, and crouches behind the temple images. A thousand floating wicks burn sweet coconut oil in hand-wrought earthenware bowls. Dancing girls, their wet saris clinging to their graceful forms, appear from the darkness like windblown flames and pass again into the dark.

On the bridge we linger, reluctant to leave, but the festival will last late into the night. The winds are rising, and the little town of Wai is a dark patch on the rainy hill-side —a giant banyan tree whose roots are in the Kistnabai and in whose branches dance a thousand flickering fire-flies.

"I SEE you have enjoyed our festival." Unseen a man wearing a single garment falling in dripping folds to his bare feet stood by our side. "What you have today witnessed is but the *vahan*, or vehicle, of a great Seed Idea for meditation.

"Billions of bright sparks dance on the river's waves above which the single flame is burning. Nagpanchami is one of those mimic lights. It indicates a Path. Go now to your rest—and meditate. May the great King Naga light your Way!" Raising his pressed palms to his bowed head, he passed into the darkness.

The storm clouds break. Through the rift we see a thousand other mimic lights burning on the altars of the Gods. Beyond, lies coiled the Naga King, transcending all human conception, Symbol of the Teachers of Eternal Wisdom.

The World's Business

FRANCE: Steel Needs Coal

S. Beracha, Economic Adviser to the French Government and president of the Paris *Tribune Economique,* reports on the French steel industry exclusively for UNW:

"In spite of the fact that France's current manufacture of finished steel exceeds her 1938 production level by 10%, 34 of her 101 blast furnaces continue to be idle for lack of coal, which prevents it from fulfilling the primary requisite of the Marshall Plan, namely —the maximum utilization of its productive capacity.

"The recent rise in French steel output proves the extraordinary vitality of French industry, which is operating under the multiple strain of manpower shortage, lack of electrical equipment and dollars, as well as the current difficulties arising from social unrest.

"After reaching its pre-war production level during the first four months of the year and then declining slightly as a result of reduced coal supplies, strikes and vacations, the French steel industry has made a remarkable comeback. Production of unfinished steel now exceeds the monthly average of 1938, as the chart below shows.

"This increase is all the more remarkable considering the abovementioned difficulties. French steel production was by no means extraordinary in 1938, since at the time it was hampered by a saturated world market and the monstrous development of the German steel industry. This means that the current achievements must be considered only a step to much more satisfactory results.

"If sufficient coke were placed at France's disposal, she could immediately increase her current steel production by 25% and use it for the benefit of her reconstruction and trade balance. Due to lack of gold, steel is at the moment an exchange commodity which can pay for certain indispensable imports. If, as a result of the Berlin Coal Conference, France's share in the Ruhr coal should be substantially increased, France would be able to step up her steel production considerably. For the present, France is forced to limit its ambitions to the maximum utilization of its existing productive capacity, which in turn is completely dependent on adequate coal supplies."

ARGENTINA: Big Plan

Argentina's grandiose five-year plan took a step toward realization with the announcement of the "tentative" appropriation of 3,700,000,000 pesos ($925,000,000) for public works and transportation, 2,235,000,000 pesos ($558,750,000) for the electric works plan, 625,000,000 pesos ($156,250,000) for public health, 200,000,000 pesos ($50,000,000) for immigration and colonization, and 20,000,000 pesos ($5,000,000) for a variety of other purposes. The total, 6,780,000,000 pesos, is the equivalent of $1,695,000,000. For comparison: Argentine government's total outlay for 1946 was 1,768,000,000 pesos.

Perón started writing about the five-year plan to raise the economic and industrial potential of Argentina while he was still an Army major, in 1934. If carried out, it would give Argentina a place among the major powers of the world. In 1951, she would produce 43% more manufactured goods than in 1943. Power installations would be increased by 50%. Great sums of money would be used to modernize the Army and to construct factories for military purposes. Whenever it was thought necessary, the State would take over economic power from private hands. Said Perón: "In my optimistic dreams, I often see a nation economically powerful, and with it a rational and balanced State by which the economic, social and political needs of all Argentines would best be served."

The world's grain shortage provides Argentina with one means of paying for Perón's optimistic dream. One afternoon, not long ago, the chairman of the Argentine National Economic Council was very busy indeed. He interviewed the delegate of the Venezuelan National Supply Commission, the Secretary of the Swiss Legation, a special envoy of the Lebanese Government and the Commercial Counsellor of the French Embassy. All of them were on the same mission—to buy Argentine wheat, presumably at high Argentine rates—at least $1.50 per bushel more than the American export price.

BRITAIN: Upturn

The British coal miner looks ahead to brighter times. As his productivity rose to pre-war levels, he found a fat new addition to his pay

FRENCH STEEL PRODUCTION

Monthly Average	Blast furnaces in operation*	Pig Iron	Raw Steel	Rolled Steel Products
	(in thousands of tons)			
1938	86	501	518	342
1945	26	98	139	93
1946	59	287	369	253
1947 (1st trimester)	64	391	478	350
1947 (2nd trimester)	66	410	490	331
1947—September	67	430	520	375

*out of 101 in existence

envelope. Underground workers got an increase of 15 shillings per week, surface workers 10 shillings. Quite as important as the money were the hints that he (and other Englishmen as well) might before long find goods to buy. It became possible too, to dream of owning a new house. Permanent dwellings were being erected at the rate of 15,400 a month; additional "temporary" ones brought the total to 20,800. About 270,000 homes were in various stages of construction. The miner might even be able to buy a new bicycle to ride to the workings. It was announced that Britain had taken first place in the world's cycle industry.

Britain's increasing coal production is eagerly eyed by Sweden. A recent trade agreement between the two countries looks toward an approximate balance of payments between Sweden and the sterling area, the exchange being along the traditional lines: Britain to send chemical products, hides and skins, textile goods, iron and steel, machinery, transport material, instruments and tools; Sweden to export timber goods, paper pulp, paper, iron ore, fish, machinery, and so forth.

JAPAN: Ships and Silk

The Chinese government, fearful that the Japanese may regain their dominant trading position in the Far East, is planning to demand that the Japanese merchant fleet be limited to one million tons, with no ship larger than 3,000 tons, and that all excess vessels be transferred to China. Before the war, Japan operated more than five and a half million tons of shipping, a merchant fleet exceeded only by that of the U. S. and Great Britain. How many ships the peace treaty will finally allot to China remains to be seen; at present Japan is so short of ships that 60% of the iron ore mined on Hainan Island must be hauled to Japanese blast furnaces in foreign bottoms.

Japanese industrial rehabilitation proceeds meanwhile at a pace slower than planned. Tokyo radio says that "a serious economic crisis may be expected between the end of 1947 and March of 1948."

The decentralization bill, designed to cut down the power of the Zaibatsu, has resulted, the broadcast says, in "lost enthusiasm for the full-scale reopening of production." Among the consequences of the bill is the tentative decision to nationalize the oil industry, rather than to split the present Teikoku Crude Oil Company into two competing enterprises. Financial institutions are tightening their loans due to uncertain industrial prospects. "The people of this country must continue to bear the hardships of life for the coming year," Finance Minister Kurusu said, "but there will be bright hope in 1949."

U.S.S.R.: Business in the Red

A sampling of items of economic interest from the USSR:

Although tremendous effort has been made to increase agricultural output, the damage done by the war has not yet been repaired. Sown areas still do not reach prewar figures, and new tractors and other mechanized equipment have not come off assembly lines fast enough to compensate for war losses.

Workers of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Geology pledged their efforts to raise annual pig iron production to 50 million tons, steel to 60 million tons and coal to 500 million tons, totals about equal to current U. S. production figures for these materials. Soviet oil workers hope to produce 60 million tons annually, as compared with the U. S. flow of 234,213,000 tons. These Soviet pledges look far ahead indeed, since their fulfillment would represent more than twice the production envisaged by the Soviet five-year plan which ends in 1950.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA:
Nationalization

Economist Donald L. Hesson, in an on-the-spot report to UN WORLD, estimates that more than 60% of Czechoslovakia's production facilities are now owned and operated by the government (see map, pages 32-33). The following figures show in percentages the extent to which the various industries have been nationalized:

Mining	100
Electricity, gas, water	82
Iron, steel, engineering	75
Chemical	74
Glass	68
Leather	60
Building materials and pottery	59
Textile and clothing	46
Food	39
Paper and printing	28
Wood-working	23
Construction	10

The first step toward nationalization of Czech industry was taken immediately after the liberation of the country, when President Benes decreed the confiscation of the considerable property and financial interests owned by Germans and war criminals.

The second step was the enactment of a law by the Constituent National Assembly in October, 1945, nationalizing banks and financial institutions, mines and mineral resources, and with certain exceptions, all industries employing more than 300 workers. It also provided machinery for planning the economic life of the country. For property nationalized under this law, both Czech and foreign owners will receive compensation.

Nationalization is unlikely to proceed at a rapid pace in the immediate future. Not only are the parties of the right fighting to prevent it, but the Communists themselves are generally agreed that the part of the economy now under government control must be better organized and coordinated before further socialization is attempted.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S TWO-YEAR PLAN

Industry	Pre-war Monthly Average	Expected 1949 Average
Coal (tons)	1,398,000	1,479,000
Crude steel (tons)	192,000	200,000
Motorcars and lorries (units)	678	1,166
Tractors	17	750
Railway engines	6	24
Electric motors over 0.5 kw. (units)	6,000	18,000
Electric bulbs	507,000	1,260,000
Paper (tons)	16,000	18,000
Building tiles	60,000,000	69,000,000

U N politically speaking

BY EVELYN G. KESSEL

About people and happenings in and around the United Nations

How to be happily married though a delegate

Dinners may grow cold, wedding-anniversaries be forgotten in the welter of world politics. But despite the conflict in committees, certain diplomats at least rejoice in compatible domestic partnerships and return to harmony at home.

Let us begin with—Mr. Camille Chamoun, Chairman of the Lebanese Delegation. Mr. and Mrs. Chamoun win first place for pulchritude. A young lady at the UN told me she was a-throb to meet "that handsome man" but alas! "his wife is glamorous too."

The grey-haired delegate with Anglo-Saxon features, out-door color, Bond Street clothes, looks British . . . learned English only five years ago. His accent is English. So is hers. "But I'm 100% Lebanese, a Christian, and married to an awful Presbyterian." The awful Presbyterian had an English mother. Yet when we met at tea, her delicately-molded face suggested a Greuze in a very 1947 black suit (made by a "badly expensive London tailor," says he), grey beret (made by herself), amber scarf, heavy gold necklace.

It astounded us to learn that girlish Mme. Chamoun has 16- and 13-year-old sons studying in England. But, she disclosed, her high school diploma and marriage certificate were simultaneous.

The family has thus far enjoyed peaceful but crowded years. Without diplomatic ambitions, nevertheless after progressive political steps, Chamoun went in 1944 as Minister to the Court of St. James'. In 1947 he was made Minister of the Interior in his own country and then sent to General Assembly.

French culture has apparently been a profound influence in Mr. Chamoun's training. His fearless speeches are expressed in perfect French; his parries in arguments in the Political and Security Committee deft as those of the classic French statesman.

Obviously they are an excellent team. They met at a swimming club in Beirut—became engaged on the diving board. . . . "You would be a good friend, a good housewife, a good mother, he sputtered, as they swam off together. . . ." Camille has no small talk," she says. "Political matters occupy his mind. But he's awfully kind and popular."

The Chamouns of Lebanon train each other in Arabic or French in leisure time.

In their own country they share certain political responsibilities. He considers her a born diplomat. Their house is full of visitors from dawn to midnight.

In New York they suffer from the UN occupational ailment—fatigue from long hours of work. UN parties which are a "must" consume their limited time. . . . Occasionally attend art exhibitions. . . . Weekends they escape the turmoil of the city by visiting people of Lebanese origin of whom there are some 35,000 in the vicinity.

Neither is greatly impressed by the USA. Mme. Chamoun thinks New York artificial; everyone keyed up. Doesn't care for the whole outfit—misses the peace of the Lebanon, without modern gadgets, but where there is charm, leisure and servants.

He says he quarrels with American politicians; and doesn't want to quarrel with American women. But they appear to be losing their femininity by trying to dominate the men. Lebanese women, while not husband-dominated, are more feminine. Being feminine does not prevent your being clever. "American and all women (including my wife) overuse cosmetics. They have no natural color left."

The Chamouns live at the Ritz-Carlton. . . . Wherever they are they "train" each other—have long discussions in Arabic, French or

English, depending on the word with which they start. After argument, he sometimes obeys her "by conviction."

"The fact is," he says, "Zulfa and I go together very well in all ways." The perfect teamwork seems to break down at one point only. He absolutely balks at having to go shopping with her.

The Vilfans of Yugoslavia have a cigarette after Turkish coffee and "potico."

Yugoslavia's Vilfans

We walked up the steps of a former Vanderbilt mansion on Fifth Avenue to visit Joze Vilfan, permanent representative from Yugoslavia to the UN.

The Vilfans received us in the large salon at the top of noble stairs. Against an 18th century *décor*, amid Gobelin settees and Persian rugs—Marshal Tito's picture over the marble mantle the one rugged note (done by a man who engraved during battle they said), the Vilfans were a vivid contrast—young, vigorous, of redoubtable opinions. . . . Turkish coffee, delectable pastries called "potico" —of honey, dough and raisins, made by their native chef, soon enlivened us all.

Madame said she found this type of house appropriate for receptions, but not for personal use. Nor does Mr. Vilfan fancy the sumptuous line of the Louis. His office overlooking Fifth Avenue, while retaining the antique paneling, is masculinely redecorated with handsome olive-green furniture, great hangings from floor to ceiling in blending shades. "I want modern style in everything. Life changes and so does style," said the young delegate. He is good-looking—has brown hair, engaging smile, wears glasses. Self-avowedly solemn on the rostrum ("Yes, I'm pedantic and a bore"), with us—sipping coffee—boyish, candid, of charming manner, quick and humorous perceptiveness, with a most infectious laugh.

She too is Yugoslavian. . . . She was dressed in subtly-draped black satin, setting off her strong and composed features of classic cast. Thick black hair curls away from her face in a simple coiffure. By any standards Madame Vilfan is a beautiful woman.

"I am an old husband," he says. They have been married 15 years. There are three small sons just arrived from abroad attending the school at Columbia for children who do not speak English. "Thus far their only attempts to speak it are when they buy balloons in the Park. . . ." The children have a governess and there are seven servants.

We asked Mr. Vilfan how he reconciles his theories with such luxurious surroundings. "Do you think Communism means misery?" he asked with his pleasant smile. "I see nothing incongruous in the fact that I, a Marxist, live in this house. It is the house of my government. We enjoy beautiful things. We want all people to have the same. Did the Russians destroy the lovely palaces? It would have been nonsense. The Russian Revolution preserved more monuments than any other revolution."

A retrospective of Mr. Vilfan's background reveals that he is pure Slovene. Elementary schooling in Trieste . . . forced to finish classes underground during Italian occupation following World War I. Attended universities in Rome and Vienna. Practiced law in Ljubljana until World War II.

His career in governmental affairs began when he was made Public Prosecutor in Belgrade in 1945. "Our diplomacy is new; we had to build up our own state apparatus." In 1946 entered Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Trieste was on the *tapis*. "I was an expert because I was born there, and expect to die there," he said fervently. I looked at this young product of the flaming Balkans and marveled how the impact of many forces between two wars had produced a completely new type of statesman. . . . Then in 1946 he went to the Paris Peace Conference as Secretary-General to Yugoslav delegation. Attended both the London and Moscow Conferences of Foreign Ministers in 1947. After which appointed UN delegate.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Vilfan speak Russian, Serbian, German, Italian, French, English. In fact their linguistic aptitudes brought about their romance. . . . They met while students at the University of Ljubljana. She studied English and French, subscribed to a French newspaper. He wanted to read it. So he made her acquaintance. "Very soon meetings came about without newspapers." He won a Sorbonne scholarship and they were married.

united nations DIARY

A digest of UN activities throughout the world

Arab bloc members. Left to right: Jamali of Iraq, Feisal of Saudi Arabia, Chamoun of Lebanon, Husseini, Kamal of Palestin

Palestine Decision

Like the 1947 World Series, the General Assembly's second session reached decision only in its last days. Until then, there had been lots of excitement—name-calling, pop-bottle-throwing and what-not. But when the end came, people felt that something had been settled.

This past Assembly session was one of great problems, quick tempers and tired, serious men and women who worked terribly hard for ten intense weeks. It wound up on a note of sober optimism with an impressive total of 76 resolutions, more than one-half by unanimous votes.

The action on Palestine was the United Nations as its best. Faced with two imperfect solutions—partition or unification — delegates voted, 33 to 13, with 10 abstentions and one absentee, to split Palestine into an Arab and a Jewish state. After President Aranha announced the outcome, faces at Flushing were grave. Secretary General Trygve Lie's plump face looked pale and moist. In the halls outside, Jews who were chanting their ancient prayers for a homeland, knew their prayers had been answered. But upon the shoulders of a nervous United Nations now rests the responsibility for keeping the great fact from becoming a bloody fiction.

As angry delegates from Arab League countries stalked out of the Assembly hall, everyone knew that there was plenty of violence ahead. Less than 24 hours later, riotings broke out in the Holy Land. The dark threats made in Flushing—that the Arabs would fiercely resist partition—were coming true.

The world's two biggest powers did not act lightly when they agreed to give and take on the question of Palestine. The partition decision meant substantial risks for both, jeopardy of Middle East o concessions, impairment of Russia' influence with the Arabs, necessit of sending American and Sovie troops to keep order when th British evacuate. Both knew th chances they were taking — an took them.

Britain, to nobody's surprise abstained. For two months, he spokesmen had repeated their stan that they would not support a solu tion which didn't please both Arab and Jews. They were getting out o Palestine in May, 1948, and the wanted to wash their hands of th sticky duty of enforcing an un popular decision.

France took a deep breath an voted for partition, despite the 18 000,000 Moslems in French Nort Africa. Arab nations enlisted th support of Cuba and Greece an the Moslem countries of Asia— smaller number than expected. Bu there were no congealed blocs; th

decision was definitely in the balance. Four votes could have stalled action perhaps for another year.

Much credit for pushing through the Palestine decision should go to Herschel Johnson (U.S.) who celebrated Thanksgiving by talking tirelessly to delegates, urging them to vote in favor of partition. On Saturday, November 29, at 6:58 P.M., the Jewish homeland was a fact and the Arabs at the UN cried "Murder!"

Here are the main points of the Palestine resolution:

1. An independent Jewish and Arab state will be set up no later than October 1, 1948. The City of Jerusalem will be administered internationally under Trusteeship Council supervision.

2. The British mandate will end by August 1, 1948, at the latest. Until then, Britain will be responsible for the administration of Palestine.

3. Between the end of the British mandate and the beginning of the Jewish and Arab States, the governing of Palestine will be in the hands of a United Nations Partition Commission. The Commission will also decide on the permanent boundaries of the two new states and of the City of Jerusalem. Members: Bolivia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Panama and Philippines.

4. The UN Commission will set up Provisional Councils of Government for the Jewish and Arab states which will have full authority over immigration, land regulation, administrative organs of government and eventually recruitment of militia.

5. The Commission will set up a Joint Economic Board which will administer the economic union of the Jewish and Arab states which is provided under the Plan.

On the heels of the historic decision, the Trusteeship Council set up an Ad Hoc Committee on Jerusalem to draft a statute for its administration. Russian agreement that the Trusteeship Council should handle Jerusalem represents a major concession since she has until now refused to take part in any of its activities and meetings because of her disapproval of the basic concepts of the trusteeship agreements.

As the UN Partition Commission prepared to leave for the Holy Lands, Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, director of the UN Trusteeship Division, got one of the most responsible jobs in the United Nations—head of the Commission's Secretariat staff. A former State Department employee and anthropology student, Dr. Bunche is the grandson of an ex-slave.

Molehills Out of Mountains

Despite loud noises made before the Assembly opened, nothing much was done about the veto. Argentina withdrew her proposal to call a conference to amend the Charter's provisions for voting procedure. At the suggestion of the United States, the newly-created Interim Committee ("Little Assembly") will study the problem, together with the Committee of Experts of the Security Council, in hopes that some way can be found to prevent the veto from blocking important action and at the same time to preserve the concept of Big Five unanimity.

Democracy and the UN Charter suffered a set-back when the Assembly failed to pass resolutions curbing Spain and South Africa. People who wanted to see Franco get his come-uppance in the Assembly were disappointed. After their thumping opposition to the Balkan and Korean Commissions and the "Little Assembly", representatives of the Eastern Bloc (who led last year's Assembly denunciation of the Spanish dictatorship) could not rally support to reaffirm the 1946 resolution. United States felt that it would do more harm than good to restate the resolution which barred the Franco government from international agencies and conferences, and recommended withdrawal of diplomatic representatives from Madrid. Argentina (which kept diplomats in Spain despite the UN resolution), Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, El Salvador and Peru led the fight to whitewash Franco and dilute any Assembly action. The outcome: a disappointing little "vote of confidence" that the Security Council will surely "exercise its responsibilities under the Charter as soon as it considers that the situation in regard to Spain so requires."

Tensely awaiting the vote are Zionists (l. to r.) Neuman, Gold, Shertok and Silver

India's second attempt to stop discriminatory treatment of Hindus in South Africa met with little success. South Africa (with support of Australia) said this was purely a domestic affair. Last year's resolution requiring the Union to conform to the Charter was reaffirmed in the Political Committee, but in plenary session a weaker version was introduced. The Assembly vote was a tie. As a result, no action was

taken beyond a recommendation that South Africa and India call a round table conference to settle their dispute.

Exclusive Club

Six applications for UN membership—from Austria, Finland, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, and Transjordan—were reviewed by the Assembly. Like Greece, they are hardy perennials in the UN rock garden. Being convinced that they are "peace-loving" states as provided in the Charter, the Assembly referred their application to the Security Council for reconsideration. Since all but two of the applications made in the past year were blocked by veto, the permanent members of the Council have been asked to try to reach an agreement on them and report their conclusions to the whole Security Council. The International Court of Justice has been asked whether a member state is legally entitled to make its support for an application dependent on certain conditions not mentioned in the Charter—such as concurrent acceptance of additional applications.

After 14 ballots were cast, India withdrew from the Security Council race and Ukraine was elected for a two year period. The other two new members are Argentina and Canada. They replace Australia, Brazil and Poland—and preserve the balance of East-West power. Australia, Brazil, Denmark, Poland, USSR and United Kingdom were elected to the Economic and Social Council for three-year terms; Philippines and Costa Rica were elected to the Trusteeship Council for three-year terms.

DP's and War Criminals

Tired tempers boiled over in the displaced persons debate. The Eastern bloc accused Britain, United States, Canada and other countries of using DP camps as sources of cheap labor; they said, too, that personnel staffing the camps were not only poisoning the people's minds against returning to their homes in Eastern Europe, but in some cases were also actually fascist sympathizers. The West countered by insisting that DP's who feared to return to their homes be permitted to settle elsewhere. Finally, the Assembly voted a recommendation that members take strong steps to repatriate as many displaced persons as possible to countries of origin and open their own doors to those DP's who do not wish to return home.

Wholesome Fruit

Two resolutions which should bear the wholesome fruit of international understanding were approved by the Assembly. The first provides for the exchange of as many workers as possible who will spread technical knowledge of their trades and at the same time study the economic and social problems of other workers in other countries. A Norwegian resolution was unanimously adopted, recommending that member states teach their children about the UN along with the 3 R's. UNESCO will help nations plan curriculums for their primary and secondary schools which will outline aims, activities, structures and principles of the United Nations.

There's going to be a new agency in the UN. It is called the International Law Commission and its duties will be to develop an international code of law, to prepare a code of offenses against mankind and a declaration of the rights and duties of states to their citizens. The work of ILC represents a revolutionary concept that excites imagination, that forecasts a sound foundation for a decent world.

The 1948 UN budget of $34,825,195 was approved, with economy-minded Britain abstaining. Included are appropriations not only for the working of the Secretariat, a slightly-curtailed public information program, countless special studies and scores of meetings and conferences, but also expenses for the newly-created Korean and Greek Commissions and the "Little Assembly." On the vote for these last items, however, USSR abstained. The Working Capital Fund will stay at $20,000,000.

The most eagerly awaited UN decision. Evatt reads Palestine report to newsmen

The Ayes Carried

Other important resolutions of the General Assembly:

1. Economic and Social Council will study possibility of setting up an Economic Commission for the Middle East.

2. Formal agreements linking them to the United Nations as specialized agencies were approved for the World Health Organization, International Telecommunications Union, Universal Postal Union, International Bank and International Monetary Fund.

3. Italy's and Austria's applications for membership in ICAO were approved.

4. The UN has taken over from the League of Nations the powers to enforce conventions preventing traffic in women and children and in obscene publications.

5. As a result of a Peruvian request, the Economic and Social Council will be asked to consider sending a committee of experts to the Andean section to study narcotic effects of coca-leaf chewing.

6. The Economic and Social Council was also asked to draft a convention against genocide, which is to be submitted to the next Assembly session.

7. Spanish has been adopted as the third working language of the UN (others: English and French).

8. The next regular session of the Assembly will be held in Europe. The site will be chosen later.

9. Legal points, including interpretation of the Charter, are to be referred to the International Court of Justice by UN organs and specialized agencies for advisory opinions. In passing the resolution, the Assembly pointed out that the interpretation of the Charter and of specialized agencies' constitutions should be based on recognized principles of International Law.

10. The Secretary General will negotiate with the United States for a $65,000,000 loan (interest-free) to be used in building the permanent headquarters of the UN in Manhattan. President Truman has indicated his approval.

Three important industrial shortages—ball bearings, conveyor belts and ceramic insulators — will be studied by ad hoc working committees of the Economic Commission for Europe. Its Committee on Industry and Materials recently concluded sessions in Geneva.

Food, clothing, medicine and cod liver oil are on their way to children in Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Finland, France, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia. The collecting agency is the International Children's Emergency Fund to which 17 countries have contributed or pledged resources totaling $37,892,000.

Grateful Samoans

To some weary cynics, the United Nations is just one more postwar casualty. But to the 72,000 people in Western Samoa, it is a symbol of hope. Last year, 116 leaders petitioned the Trusteeship Council for more self-government. A three-man mission was sent to this territory which is administered by New Zealand.

The Trusteeship Council has unanimously approved the missions' report. It recommends more self-government and suggests specific changes in the administrative framework to give a greater voice to the people of Western Samoa and to clear the way for eventual complete self-government. Although almost everyone approved the mission's work, the Iraq delegate complained that the report was vague—more like the work of "a woman or a politician rather than statesmen." But on tables at Lake Success are spread gifts from grateful Western Samoans to the United Nations.

The first of the periodic inspection tours which will be made to the trust territories will leave for East Africa during 1948. Visits will be made to Tanganyika (Britain) and Ruanda-Urundi (Belgium).

Free Men and a Wealthy World

Before the dust had settled on the desks at Flushing Meadow, the Human Rights Commission had begun at Geneva. Its chairman is busy U. S. delegate Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt who flew from tiring sessions of the Assembly to take up another major task—the drafting of an international bill of human rights. The Commission has before it a draft bill prepared by the Secretariat.

With the Assembly out of the way, the Economic and Social Council organs got down to their quiet, important work. The Sub-commissions on Economic Development and on Employment and Economic Stability met at Lake Success. The representatives were economists, not statesmen, and they talked about ways to increase the flow of materials from surplus to deficit countries and of the dangers of foreign investments. As they debated the virtues of private, intergovernmental and international loans as a means of building up under-developed countries, they must have kept their fingers crossed, their tongues in their cheeks, and one eye on Washington where Congress was debating the biggest government loan in the world's history.

While Europe was busily adding up reconstruction needs, the Far East cried, "Me, too!" In Baugio, Philippines, delegates to the Eco-

Mme. Pandit and Pearl Buck condemned UN's failure to help South African Hindus

nomic Commission for Asia and the Far East reminded Occidental members that Asia too is in need. Philippines President Roxas hinted to the United States that communism in the Far East is as great a threat as in Europe. This part of the world must not be forgotten in aid-giving, he said—both from altruistic and materialistic motives.

Soon after this warning, U. S. delegate Monnet Davis indicated that there may be a "Marshall Plan" for Asia too. The Oriental countries were asked to prepare detailed statements of their loans and information on foreign and domestic capital; self-help will be the keynote of the Asia aid program.

The case of Siam posed a problem. Delegates representing the *coup d'etat* regime cooled their heels outside the Conference room while their political acceptability was being debated. U. S. felt that they should be admitted as associate members since this does not mean diplomatic recognition of the Siamese regime. Finally ECAFE voted to seat Siam, pending clarification of her status, but by this time the four piqued delegates had gone home.

Over Soviet objections, ECAFE voted to hold consultations with Allied control authorities in Japan and Korea.

Keeping the Peace

The Assembly's Special Committee on Greece began its meetings in Salonika. It was set up to keep order on the Greek, Albanian, Bulgarian and Yugoslav frontiers. Absent were Russia and Poland who decided to boycott the Assembly decision. Meantime, in another part of the world, the Committee of Good Offices of the Security Council accomplished its main task—it brought together on board of the U. S. Ship *Reinville* representatives of the Netherlands and of the Indonesian government. Though the round table talks haven't ended in concord, bloodshed on a large scale has ceased. Both parties have agreed not only to enforce the Security Council's cease-fire order, but they have also agreed to stop sabotage, reprisals and propaganda and to cooperate in rescue work.

UNESCO Session

At Mexico City, delegates to UNESCO's second general conference worked hard to build the defenses of peace in men's minds. They adopted a $7,682,637 budget to cover their ambitious 1948 program of almost 100 varied projects —ranging from fundamental education in the African bush to drafting of a universal copyright law. Biggest budget allocation ($1,000,000) goes to the mass communications project which includes a press, radio and film production unit whose main function is to educate the world to UNESCO's principles—and a respect for different cultures.

UNESCO will consult with the Allied authorities in Germany to find ways to rebuild schools, supply new textbooks and reeducate adults as well as children in the Occupation Zones. Only Poland dissented, stating that "the wounds of war are still fresh."

Although the atmosphere at Mexico City was eruditely optimistic and tolerant, there were a few sharp words. Britain's novelist-delegate J. B. Priestley charged that America is trying to use her technical facilities to spread her culture beyond national frontiers. Echoes of the Hollywood investigation by the Un-American Activities Committee inspired Polish delegate Slonimski to observe that "almost all accused Hollywood producers are those who produce the best films and the ones which are most admired in Europe."

Draft Trade Charter

The ITO Conference, meeting in Havana, worked hard at the draft Charter which most nations have approved in principle. Latin American states, however, criticized the draft because, instead of concentrating on raising the economic level of the world, it favors the already-industrialized countries at the expense of under-developed states. Lowering tariffs and elimination of import quotas is a fine idea, they agree, but may prove crippling to growing (infant) industries.

Politics were inserted in the Havana debates when the Indonesian spokesman charged that the Netherlands government had imposed a discriminatory, monopolistic blockade against the former Dutch East Indies, affecting even medicine and foodstuffs, absolute necessities of life.

United States urged that suggested "escape clauses" in the ITO Charter should not nullify the important benefits which will derive from it.

Cadogan congratulates Assembly President Oswaldo Aranha on job superbly done

Summary of important speeches, treaties and other international documents. Copies available at cost. Send key number to World Files, *United Nations World, 385 Madison Avenue, New York 17.*

263:47 Bulgarians Protest to U. S.

October 24, Sophia

Note handed U.S. Legation detailed demarches made for repatriation of Bulgarian war criminals from Austria, especially for former Prime Minister Alexander Tzankov (detained in an American prison near Salzburg) and his exiled Ministers in Vienna.

264:47 British Withdrawal from Burma

October 27, London

British-Burmese Treaty to become operative on January 6, 1948:

1. Burma becomes fully independent and leaves the British commonwealth.

2. Britain will withdraw all troops from Burma, but will have exclusive rights to maintain a joint military mission there.

3. A three year defense agreement subject to cancellation thereafter upon twelve-months notice. Military aircraft of both nations to enjoy peacetime right to fly over territories of the two countries and have staging facilities at prescribed airfields.

4. Burma to give all possible aid and facilities to transportation of Commonwealth forces in time of war or approaching war. Britain will provide financial and physical assistance for Burmese airports.

5. Provides for the writing off of £15,000,000, ($60,000,000), about 1/3 Burma's debt to Britain. The balance is to be paid in 20 yearly installments beginning in 1952.

6. Britain to transfer free to Burma 37 small naval vessels and an unspecified amount of military material as well as aircraft now in Burma.

7. Provides for continuation of April, 1947 financial agreement, the Burmese provisional government to assume all responsibility for all contracts pending adoption of a Constitution. Trade preferences to be continued.

8. All persons of British citizenship through Burmese connection shall become Burmese after activation of the pact, but persons of dual Burmese and British nationality may elect their citizenship.

DOCUMENTS ON AID TO EUROPE

265:47 Int. Emergency Food Council Report

October 27, Washington

Gives reasons for food difficulties, makes appraisals of needs and probable production, and makes suggestions for correction.

266:47 European Aide-Memoire Re: Administration of Marshall Plan

October 31, Washington

1. Delivered by representatives of the 16 European nations affected by the Marshall Plan giving their views on effective supervision of U.S. aid to Europe.

2. Emphasizes need for cooperation and the need for controls to protect reconstruction and recovery projects, but suggests that supervision be set up in such a manner that the U.S. could not fairly be accused of interfering with the internal affairs of European nations.

Should such a charge have any justifications unfortunate political repercussions might result in Europe endangering the entire recovery program.

3. It further suggests that the U.S. should enter into separate bi-lateral agreements with all countries receiving aid, defining generally the uses for the food-fuel-and-fertilizer funds.

4. It also states that European countries be permitted to spend dollars received from sources other than the U.S. outside the U.S., to enable them to purchase the goods in greatest need, and not to force them to increase the inflationary pressure on U.S. economy.

267:47 Council of Economic Advisers' Report to President Truman Re: Effect on U. S. Domestic Economy

November 1, Washington

Discusses experience of past aid, its effect on U.S. consumption and price levels; prognosticates the general effect of a new foreign aid program, and goes into details regarding specific commodities, the grain shortage, the status of steel and steel products, coal and fertilizer, the fiscal impact of foreign aid and some of its long range implications; makes suggestions for the best possible ways of easing the impact of foreign aid on U.S. economy.

268:47 Marshall Statement to Congressional Committees

November 10, Washington

1. *Costs*: $16 to $20 billions over four years, $1,500,000,000 for April, May and June, 1948 and $6 billions for July, 1948-June, 1949.

2. Great Britain, France, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Netherlands, Belgium, Portugal, Italy, Switzerland, Greece, Turkey, Luxembourg, Iceland, Austria, Ireland and the western zone of Germany to receive benefit of aid.

3. Congress is to decide the best ways of administering the program.

4. Assistance will be in the form of grants or loans, depending upon the ability of the country to repay. Those countries which are unable to pay will receive grants in the form of purchases of food, fertilizer and fuel, industrial equipment and essential raw materials. Where loans are made they will be used for purchasing capital equipment and raw materials so that they may produce goods for the repayment of loans. Encouragement will be given private capital to participate in the program.

5. In order to protect U.S. economy against inflation, insofar as possible, purchases will be made outside of the United States. When supplies are available within the U.S. in sufficient quantities, purchases will be made in the U.S. in such a manner as not to produce price upheavals on the U.S. market.

6. The countries involved will be required to make bilateral agreements with the U.S. indicating that they will take steps toward stabilizing currency and prices, and increased production of basic foods and coal, and promote reciprocal trade.

7. Proposes interim aid of $597,000,000 through March 31, 1948; $328,000,000 to France, $42,000,000 to Austria and $227,000,000 to Italy.

8. Financial aid program for China is in the planning, and a report will be made to Congress.

269:47 Harriman Statement: Re Financing Interim Aid

November 12, Washington

Discusses the urgent need of the countries involved for coal and food, and declares that needs can be met by the U.S.

269:47 Herter (H.R.) Committee's Reports

November 13, Washington

Cover the current French and Italian economic crises and set forth tightness of supply situation.

270:47 Truman Message to Congress

November 17, Washington

1. Sets forth need for immediate assistance, and requests curbs for inflationary tendencies in the U.S.

271:47 British-Yugoslav Agreement Re: Yugoslav Nationals

October 28, London

1. Britain will surrender to Yugoslavia all nationals of the latter whom she now holds, providing Yugoslavia has established a prima facie case of active and willful collaboration with the Axis.

2. Any person arrested at the request of the Yugoslav Government will be released at the end of two months if the British Government is not satisfied with the evidence, and if Yugoslavia is unable to provide further evidence.

3. Britain has agreed to remove to Germany from its zone in Austria three categories of Yugoslav nationals, to prevent chances of infiltration into Yugoslavia of guerrillas; a. displaced persons suspected of actively aiding the enemy during the war; b. members of organizations purporting to overthrow the Yugoslav government; and c. those discouraging their fellow nationals from returning to Yugoslavia.

272:47 Geneva Trade Conference Pact Signed

October 30, Geneva

1. Twenty-three countries signed the final act of the Geneva Trade Conference.

2. Australia, France, Canada, the Benelux Customs Union, the United States and the United Kingdom signed a protocol binding their governments to put into effect January 1, 1948 the new tariff schedules attached to the general agreement on tariffs and trade. Other countries will sign as soon as permitted by their laws. The deadline for signature is June 30, 1948.

3. The general provisions of the agreement are divided into three parts: (a) Part I gives legal effect to the tariff concessions detailed in the schedules, and defines the basic rules of non-discrimination in tariff and customs generally. (b) Part II is concerned with trade barriers aside from tariffs, such as quotas, protective excise taxes and customs restrictions. (c) Part III deals with procedural matters and other relevant questions, including the relationship between the agreement and the proposed charter for an International Trade Organization.

Note: The countries making the chief tariff concessions are Canada, the United Kingdom, United States, France and the

Benelux Customs Union (Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg). The signatories enjoy a major part of the world's trade. The agreement runs three years and replaces reciprocal trade pacts between the United States and seven other countries—Canada, England, the Netherlands, Cuba, Belgium, Luxembourg and France. The "most-favored nations" clause is accepted by all the participating nations.

273:47 British-Italian Agreement

October 31, London

1. Britain will return to Italy the major part of the Italian naval vessels allocated to Britain under the peace treaty and the four-power naval protocol signed Feb. 1947.

2. The scope of the Anglo-Italian Standing Economic Committee will be enlarged to consider all common matters of economic or financial concern.

3. An Anglo-Italian cultural exchange is to be negotiated to provide an interchange of teachers at university and school levels.

4. An Anglo-Italian civil aviation pact is to be negotiated to cover air services of both countries reciprocally, and immediate steps are to be taken for the mutual abolition of visas.

274:47 Excerpts from Molotov Speech on Thirtieth Anniversary of the Revolution

November 6, Moscow

1. "In accordance with (U.S.S.R.'s) peaceful policy the Soviet Union stands for the all-embracing development of international cooperation."

2. "Reading all these American plans for aid to Europe, aid to China, and so on, one might think that the domestic problems of the United States have long ago been solved, and that now it is only a question of America's putting the affairs of other states in order, dictating its policy to them and even the composition of their governments. In reality matters are not like that. If the ruling circles of the U.S.A. had no cause for anxiety concerning domestic affairs, especially in connection with an approaching economic crisis, there would not be such a superfluity of economic projects of U.S.A. expansion, which in their turn are based on the aggressive military-political plans of American imperialism."

3. "It is interesting that in expansionist circles of the U.S.A. a new peculiar sort of illusion is widespread—while having no faith in their internal strength—faith is placed in the secret of the atomic bomb, although this secret has long ceased to exist."

4. ". . . the output of our industry has already reached the pre-war level . . . we are not threatened by economic crises—"

275:47 Marshall Speech on Russian Attitude

November 18, Chicago

1. "For centuries Europe occupied a preeminent position and exercised a dominance in world affairs. . . . Today Europe is devastated and dispirited, but once it regains strength and confidence it will draw on its store of resources, energies, skills and spiritual qualities and again make major contributions to world progress. This is the goal of those who are genuinely devoted to the cause of European recovery.

"Unfortunately it has become apparent that the third great power which contributed so much to the common victory evidently does not share that purpose. . . . „

"This brings me to an important conclusion. It is this divergence of purpose concerning the future of Europe which is the cause of many of the present differences between the United States and Soviet Russia. This divergence is not due to any direct clash between the national interests of these powers."

2. "The truth as I see it is that from the termination of hostilities down to the present time the Soviet Government has consistently followed a course which was bound to arouse the resentment of our people . . . the purpose of this procedure, . . . I have been at a loss to determine."

3. Expresses no pessimism in results of the meeting of the General Assembly, and looks toward solving of future problems—Germany and Europe—with hopes of success.

276:47 Yugoslavia Complaints to UN Re: U. S. and British at Trieste

November 8, Lake Success

1. Notified UN that she had requested the U.S. and Britain to set up an Anglo-American-Yugoslav coordinating headquarters in Trieste, to eliminate "discrimination" against Yugoslavia in the Free Territory.

2. Specifically charged the U.S. and Great Britain of violating clauses of the Italian peace treaty and of expelling and/or barring Yugoslav officials from the Free Territory.

3. Accused the Anglo-American officials of permitting uncontrolled exchange of goods between the western zone and Italy, while insisting on rigid controls of commercial traffic between the western zone and Yugoslavia "in such a way, that the Allied Military Government has brought the Free Territory of Trieste to a complete economic dependence on Italy."

277:47 U. S. and Britain Reply to Yugoslav Charges

November 19, Lake Success

1. In identical notes both Britain and the U.S. rejected the charges made by Yugoslavia.

2. They declared that the three governments administering the two zones should permit "no radical constitutional modifications such as must make more difficult the future intergrity and independence" of Trieste.

278:47 French-Polish Compensation Agreement

November 12, Warsaw

1. French owners of property nationalized and taken over by the Polish State, will receive $57,000,000 in compensation (approximately 1/7 of their estimated value).

2. Polish payments to the French will be made in coal—3,800,000 tons at $15 a ton. Deliveries to start on Jan. 1, 1951 and to continue over 15 years.

3. France is to obtain quicker deliveries if she provides credits for Poland.

4. Poland has agreed to begin conversations for settlement of a 200,000,000 franc loan made in 1938 to build up Polish war industry.

(See "World Files," Nov. 1947)

279:47 Farouk Speaks at Opening of Parliament

November 12, Cairo

Pledges efforts for the unification of Egypt and the Sudan, and stated that the way will be opened for the re-establishment of relations between Egypt and Britain on a basis of equal sovereignty, only upon British troop evacuation and recognition of the unity of the Nile valley.

280:47 British-Irish Trade Agreement

November 13, London

1. Britain agreed to increase in prices of food (meat and live cattle, chiefly) to Ireland.

2. Britain to send Ireland increased quantities of agricultural machinery, coal and fertilizers, as well as textile raw materials.

3. Ireland will reduce her drawing from the dollar pool up to June, 1948, to only £14,000,000 plus her dollar earnings.

281:47 Yugoslavs Request U. S. to Free Gold

November 13, Washington

Yugoslav Foreign Minister Stanoje Simich, presented a note to Secretary of State Marshall requesting release of $56,000,000 of Yugoslav gold frozen in the U.S. during the war.

282:47 Japanese Pact with Sterling Areas

November 15, Tokyo

An interim agreement between Japan and the Sterling Areas, announced by Gen. MacArthur, provides for:

1. Japan buying and selling for sterling, through Allied Headquarters' accounts in the Hong Kong-Shanghai Banking Corp., and chartered banks for India, Australia and China.

2. Allied Headquarters may request balances to be converted into dollars semi-annually.

3. Trade may be carried on as under free exchange, it being the responsibility of Allied Headquarters and the British authorities to keep the sterling balance to a minimum.

Note: The pact aims to revive the trade which has been dwindling since Britain suspended sterling convertibility on Aug. 5. Among the items affected are: Sudanese cotton, Malayan rubber, tin and iron ore, North African salt, and Australian and New Zealand wool, tallow and hides.

283:47 French-Hungarian Trade Accord

November 15, Paris

Agrees to treble trade between the two countries during 1948, and envisages shipments totaling 1 billion francs. ($8,425,000) in each direction.

284:47 Canada Curbs Imports to Save Dollars

November 17, Ottawa

Imposed the following restrictions on imports from the U.S. to safeguard and improve Canada's exchange position:

1. Ban on importation from dollar countries of consumer goods including radios, typewriters, refrigerators, washing machines, furniture, and until further notice, automobiles.

2. Import quotas imposed on fruits, vegetables, textiles, footwear, gloves, clocks, cutlery, sporting equipment, etc.

3. Travel by Canadians restricted by a fixed allowance of $150 per annum, to be obtained by application.

4. 25% excise tax on numerous durable consumer goods containing a high percentage of parts from the U.S.

5. Among constructive measures for improving Canada's dollar situation were:

a. $300,000,000 credit from U.S. Export-Import Bank.

b. Stimulation of gold mining.

c. Stimulation of exports to U.S.

Have Arabs the Right to Resist?

The Legal Aspects of the UN Decision on Palestine

BY CLYDE EAGLETON

Professor of International Law, New York University

THE General Assembly has a resolution providing for the partition of Palestine into two states. Arab speakers denounced this action as a violation of the Charter; on the other hand, ardent supporters of the Jewish home idea confidently expect the United Nations to enforce its solution against all opposition. The debate over Palestine has been mostly a political one, but there are also legal aspects which need to be understood. We have scarcely arrived at a final settlement yet; many difficult questions remain to be faced.

The territory of Palestine is not a separate state, and such phrases as "neutral rights" and "British intervention" do not apply to it. It was an area taken from Turkey after World War I and assigned to Great Britain under the terms of a mandate and under Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. Though Britain was not given title to the area, it was her responsibility — which became an onerous one—to administer the territory and to maintain order among the individuals therein. As an "A" mandate, Palestine could anticipate independence, and there is little doubt that she would have been granted independence but for the unique and complicated difficulties which developed.

When the existence of the League of Nations was terminated, the mandates did not automatically fall under the trusteeship system of the UN, for the Charter clearly stated that mandates could only become trust areas when voluntarily offered for that purpose. It was not at all clear who were the "states directly concerned" (Article 79) who must make the agreement establishing the trust area. In the case of Palestine, of course, independence was the goal and no effort was made to have the trusteeship system cover Palestine. Great Britain, the mandatory power and the agent of the organized community of nations, was eager to relieve herself of its harassing responsibility for the maintenance of order.

The Palestine problem could not be handled, then, under the trusteeship provisions of the Charter. It was not a dispute between states which could be brought before the Security Council as a threat to the peace—those who were in disagreement were individuals, not states. Great Britain asked for a special session of the General Assembly last summer. What authority has the General Assembly to deal with such a matter? We may notice first that it could not be excluded from consideration as a domestic question under Article 2, Para. 7, since a mandate is an international responsibility. In any case, the United Kingdom had voluntarily put it before the Assembly.

It seems clear that the General Assembly is authorized to discuss, and also to recommend, concerning such a matter. By Article 10, it can discuss "any question relating to the maintenance of international peace and security"; and, more pertinently, it can under Article 14, "recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations." But it is important to note that the Assembly can do no more than *recommend;* the resolution which it has adopted has no legally binding force upon any state. If the Arab states, for example, should choose to reject it, they would be within their legal rights in doing so. A resolution adopted by the General Assembly by a two-thirds vote is, of course, of great moral force, and this moral force might in fact be as effective as would be the case if legal sanctions could be put behind the resolution.

Would the two new states be legally created? The answer to that question would be the same as for new states formed in other ways: it would depend upon acceptance by other states or upon admission to the United Nations. The resolution of the General Assembly itself is hardly sufficient to establish them as sovereign states, but presumably recognition would be given to them by the 33 states which voted for the resolution, and presumably these 33 would vote in favor of admitting the new states to the UN.

While no state is legally bound by the Assembly's Palestine resolution, members of UN are legally bound not to use force against each other, and if a Member should violate this obligation, the Security Council could regard the use of force as a threat to or breach of the peace. Thus, if the Arab states should—as they have unwisely threatened to do—use force in opposition to the recommendations of the General Assembly, an entirely different legal situation would appear. For the decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of peace are legally binding upon Members, and the Council could take drastic steps of enforcement against the state which it had decided to be the "aggressor" (assuming that it was not blocked by a veto, and that Members were willing to supply it with the armed forces it might need). This power

(*Continued on page 62*)

un WORLD opinion

press cartoons radio

The First Amendment and the Office Cat

As the year's most interesting interchange to appear on the editorial page of a newspaper, UN WORLD nominates the passage-at-arms begun by E. B. White's letter to the *New York Herald Tribune.*

Said E. B. White to the New York Herald Tribune:

"I am a member of a party of one, and I live in an age of fear. Nothing lately has unsettled my party and raised my fears so much as your editorial, on Thanksgiving Day, suggesting that employees should be required to state their beliefs in order to hold their jobs. . . . I can only assume that your editorial writer, in a hurry to get home for Thanksgiving, tripped over the First Amendment and thought it was the office cat. . . .

"The essence of our political theory in this country is that a man's conscience shall be a private, not a public affair, and that only his deeds and words shall be open to survey, to censure and to punishment. . . .

"I hold that it would be improper for any committee or any employer to examine my conscience. They wouldn't know how to get into it, they wouldn't know what to do when they got in there, and I wouldn't let them in anyway. Like other Americans, my acts and my words are open to inspection—not my thoughts or my political affiliation. . . . That is a wistful idea. One need only watch totalitarians at work to see that once men gain power over other men's minds, that power is never used sparingly and wisely . . . but lavishly and brutally and with unspeakable results. If I must declare today that I am not a Communist, tomorrow I shall have to testify that I am not a Unitarian. And the day after, that I have never belonged to a dahlia club."

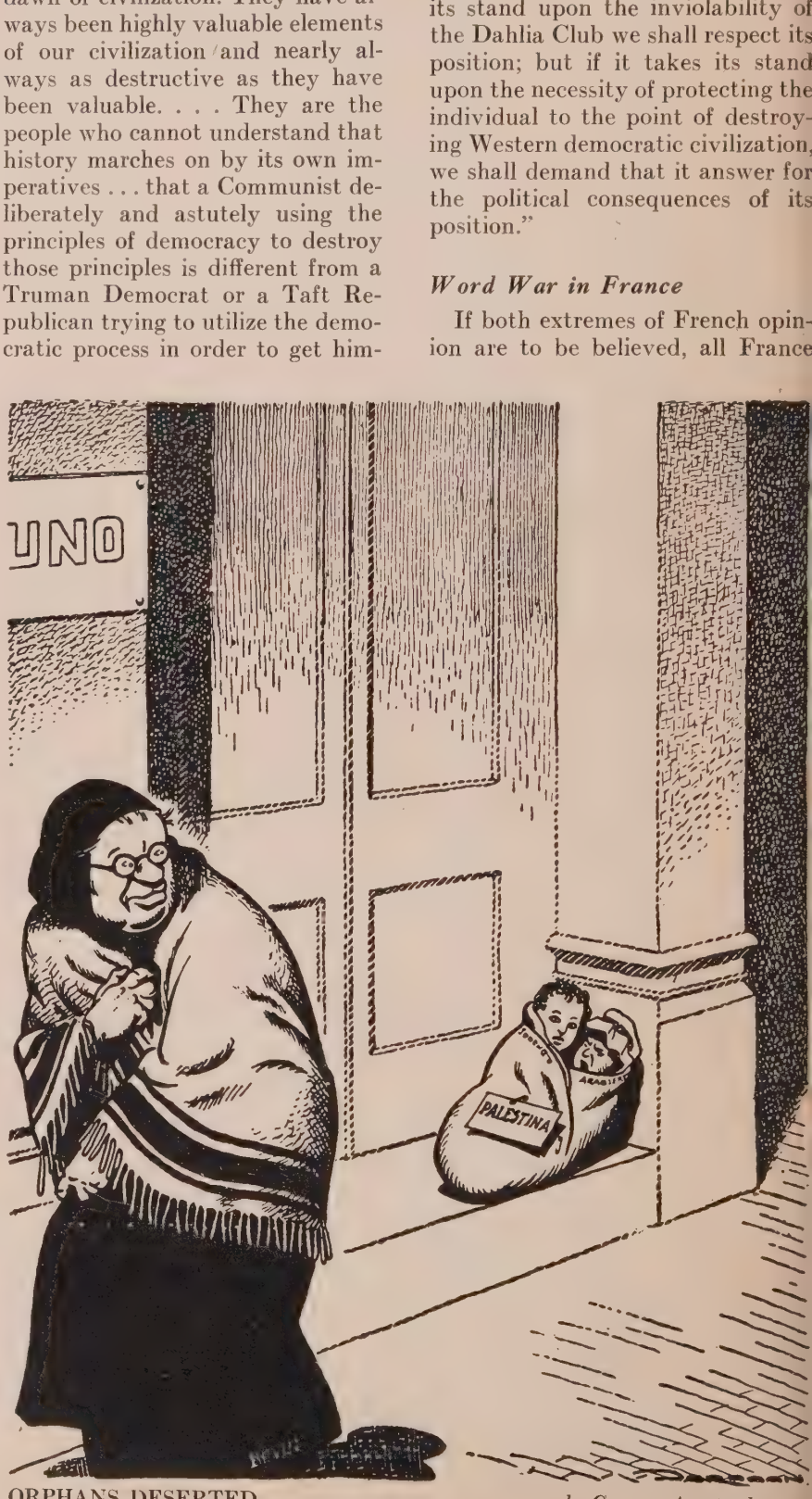
Said the *Herald Tribune* to E. B. White:

". . . The 'members of the party of one' have been with us since the dawn of civilization. They have always been highly valuable elements of our civilization and nearly always as destructive as they have been valuable. . . . They are the people who cannot understand that history marches on by its own imperatives . . . that a Communist deliberately and astutely using the principles of democracy to destroy those principles is different from a Truman Democrat or a Taft Republican trying to utilize the democratic process in order to get himself into temporary power.

". . . Most of us . . . still feel that the democratic principle has an ultimate validity in the world. . . . We think that the First Amendment carried obligations as well as guaranties. We think those obligations have something to do with thoughts as well as with actions, and if the 'party of one' finally takes its stand upon the inviolability of the Dahlia Club we shall respect its position; but if it takes its stand upon the necessity of protecting the individual to the point of destroying Western democratic civilization, we shall demand that it answer for the political consequences of its position."

Word War in France

If both extremes of French opinion are to be believed, all France



ORPHANS DESERTED

de Groene Amsterdammer

is divided into two parties, equally treasonable—the "Separatists" who want to give France to Russia, and the "Americans," who want to sell it to the U. S.

"Separatists" and "Americans" are new party names for France. The first is the contribution of Charles de Gaulle, who implies by it that the Communists are trying to separate France from its own interests. The second is a Communist invention. Their Paris newspaper, *L'Humanité*, declared: "Robert Schuman is elected Prime Minister by the unanimous vote of the American Party"—that is, the vote of all members of the Chamber of Deputies with the exception of the Communists.

As for Blum's "Third Force"—the simultaneous struggle of the Socialist Party against both reaction and the Communist Party—the Soviet radio thought it hogwash. What the Socialists are actually doing, said Moscow, is "splitting the unity of the masses of workers. . . . In reality, what talk can there be of a struggle of Blumism against Gaullism . . . if the main basis for the competition between the leader of the rightist Socialists and De Gaulle is only a question as to who is to be the executor of the Marshall Plan."

Despite the sharpness of the French political conflict, writes *Les Echos*, there is no revolutionary atmosphere. "Those who follow events in France from the outside would be surprised, if they were here to notice the calm with which they are almost always discussed. . . . Agitation, however widespread, remains artificial and superficial. What does take shape, and in particular among the people, is weariness with disorder, a profound desire for calm and a return to normal life."

DANGEROUS SLOPE

de Groene Amsterdammer

The Vatican Mobilizes

As the Communists girded for their fight against the Catholics, Gaullists and Socialists, the Vatican radio issued a call for mobilization against Communists, and in addition, "Masonic organizations, the Existentialist Cathedra, and U. S. hedonism." In the conflict with those who regard man and not God as the center of the universe, "Catholics must use all available legitimate weapons: books, lectures, press, radio, prayers, and the theater. . . . Some would give time, others money, some study, some lead meetings, some care for children and the sick, some would be active in trade unions, some in politics, some in the medical profession, some at home, and still others at school."

Bevin Said Nothing

The one subject of international importance which did not split world opinion to right and left was the partition of Palestine. The fact that U. S. and U.S.S.R. had agreed on something was greeted with cheers on both slopes of the European Divide. But the Karachi radio, representing the views of Moslem Pakistan, found evidence of "sinister design and sacrilegious objectives which have brought these apparently irreconcilable forces together," and a Syrian broadcast commented cynically that the agreement was the result of mutual suspicion: the United States wanted to keep Russia out of Palestine, and Russia wanted to keep the United States out.

British reaction was mixed. *The Spectator* deplored American and Russian "irresponsibility." *The Economist* was gloomy. But the *Manchester Guardian* thought the plan "a most remarkable job," and commented "It is easy to pick holes in the optimistic Palestine document, but what is the alternative? Bevin suggested none." *The Statesman* similarly regretted Bevin's unconstructive attitude, adding the curious apology that had Britain supported partition, others might have been prejudiced against it.

World Perspective for the U.S.A.

BY KARL SCHRIFTGIESSER
Book Editor of *Newsweek*

"I AM a little disturbed," said my old friend the Professor. "But I suppose it's only natural."

He threw aside the Sunday book review supplements which he had been reading and pulled up his chair.

"This is the time of year," he grunted, "when all you professional book reviewers—I won't dignify you by calling you critics—go in for trends. You're as bad as the financial editors. You seem to think it your duty to make up long lists of books and then try to draw from them some—not always erroneous, I'll admit—conclusions about what has been happening in what most of you rather cutely call 'the world of books' . . ."

"People like that sort of thing," I interrupted.

"You mean the publishers do," he grinned, a little cynically.

I told him to have it his own way, but to get on to what was disturbing him. After all, he had just been reading, with what seemed to me considerable interest, the year-end summaries. Had he, with his fine, academic mind, perhaps found a trend of his own?

"Indeed I have," he said, "and I don't know whether I like it or not. I'm quite startled at the preponderance of new books about the American past that seems to have been coming in what you fellows almost always say is a 'veritable flood from the presses' this past, unhappy year.

"There have been new books about the Mexican war, the years between that war and the Civil War, books about Jefferson, about Lincoln, about the conquest of the west, about the 'prosperity decade' and the 'depression decade,' about the past fifty years, about the last ten years, about the Comstock lode, about the Oregon trail, about the Indians, about the James family (and I don't mean the bandits), general histories about the 'land of liberty,' about the 'shaping of the American tradition,' about the Adamses and somebody has dug up the old journals of the historian Parkman—but why go on? There hasn't been a year in the last decade in which so many writers have turned to the past for their material. It's been an amazing year for the historical writers, the professional historians as well as the journalistic . . ."

"Well," I broke in, "what's wrong with that? Why does it alarm you?"

"Simply this," said the Professor, a little grimly, "a good many of these books have as their appeal the fact that they allow people to escape from the present. That's bad enough. This is obviously no time for escapism, even in non-fiction. We've got too many immediate problems. I admit that reading history is a good thing. We can learn a lot from the past, even if history really never does repeat itself. I think, for instance, a good, factual history of the political situation of the 1920's would be an excellent text book for all Americans. We could so easily have another Warren G. Harding come next November!

"But what I am really afraid of in this obvious trend towards Americana is that it is a forerunner of another dangerous era of isolationism. Withdrawing into the past and becoming absorbed in our national history, to the exclusion of the rest of the world, is a mighty dangerous thing."

"If overdone, it could be," I agreed. "But in many of the books I have skimmed over this past year, books about America, there seems to have been a real and sensible effort to relate the past of America also to the past of the world. Parkman's journals certainly show that he was not interested merely in the local scene, but in the relationship of his country to the whole world of his day."

"The great historian," the Professor said, "must always be concerned with such relationships. And that reminds me, you fellows who review books are so concerned with your silly 'best seller' lists and such nonsense that you are always missing the really important book." The old fellow grunted, and dipped into the capacious green cloth bag he has carried since his Harvard days, and came up with a heavy red book.

"LOOK at this. It's called *The United States*. A pretty big title for even as heavy a book as this. It's by three college professors, and I guess it was meant as a text-book. It's a pretty solid book. What attacted me was its subtitle, 'American Democracy in World Perspective.' Now listen here, to what my friends Billington, Loewenberg, and Brockunier say:

" 'Neither the policies of a country nor the written history of its people can any longer be formulated within a national vacuum. The historic American illusion, the idea of withdrawal, letting the world stew in its own juice, has been dissipating. But if the scattered peoples in various countries are to seek sericusly to tame the forces of nationalism, more is necessary than a verbal substitution of "internationalism" for "isolationism." ' "

"They didn't think that up," I cut in.

"Of course not. But it's a thought that any person writing about the past should always keep in mind. Let me go on:

" 'The history of each nation must be rewritten. Though old nations—Spain, France, England—have not been "isolated" from the world their separate histories have

een written precisely like Amerian histories—with an insistent accent on national character, national problems, national spirit. In a hrinking world the time has come o recapture the universal spirit.'"

"Have your friends succeeded in loing this?" I asked.

"To a certain extent I think they nave. But as they say, it is perhaps too early to hope that a single volume can emphasize both American history and world history.' But hey have, I think, made a pretty nonest effort to tell the American story as a story of Man in America. This is pretty professional language but it expresses what they are trying to do:

"'The liberal tradition presupposes that the struggle for democratic well-being is not alone the political striving for free parties and free elections but a widening struggle for equal freedoms and broader justice in the social relations and economic life of modern man. Accordingly recurrent changes, challenges to intolerance and authoritarianism, religious ferment, assaults on aristocratic classes, the slavery controversy, the emancipation of women, conflicts over land policy, the growth of collective bargaining, battles against race prejudice, the vision of controls against the ravages of the business cycle, and other great social issues are woven into the history of man's aspirations for a more profound social integration.'"

"It sounds like an unusual, and exciting book," I said.

"It is," the Professor said. "I wish this book could be widely known and widely read. I think it should be read and studied in every country, for it gives the story of the United States in what these fellows call 'universal perspective.' In many ways I think this book the most important book about the United States to be published at least since before the war. It's certainly as important as Toynbee's *A Study of History,* which I see has 'made' the best seller lists. It is a liberal book and realistic, a sort of model of how histories should be written, especially at this time when so many people are buying books about the American past."

The book the Professor was talking about is *The United States: American Democracy in World Perspective,* by Ray Allen Billington, Bert James Loewenberg and Samuel Hugh Brockunier, who are respectively professors of history at Northwestern University, Sarah Lawrence College and Wesleyan University. It is published by Rinehart & Company, New York.

books from everywhere

International Affairs

YEARBOOK OF THE UNITED NATIONS, 1946-47. New York, Columbia University Press for Department of Public Information of the United Nations. $10.00.

This very imposing volume of one thousand pages is the first Yearbook—one of a contemplated series of annual volumes—on the work and achievements of the United Nations. The Yearbook goes back to the origin and evolution of the world organization, putting into easily accessible form such matters as the Atlantic Charter, the Dumbarton Oaks conversations, the Yalta Agreement and the gist of all the early discussions on the UN Charter and its various ramifications. The sessions of the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, etc. also present basic discussions and agreements in such a way that they can be easily consulted. Included and very useful are the roster, the membership and the chronology of the UN, together with a selected bibliography and Who's Who in the UN. This volume is both an implement and a symbol and is an essential on the desk of statesmen, editors, writers, radio commentators and all who want to be informed on what has been going on at the United Nations.

GRIERSON ON DOCUMENTARY edited and compiled by Forsyth Hardy. New York, Harcourt, Brace. $3.75.

Says *The Times* of London "Few can doubt that Grierson is one of the great men today." Of all men functioning in the field of education and civil service, John Grierson, leader of the British documentary film movement and wartime chief of the National Film Board of Canada, has seen most clearly the great use to which the mass-media of press, radio and, more particularly, the film can be put in making some sort of comprehensible national and international order. Forsyth Hardy has assembled Grierson's brilliant essays, film criticism of the dramatic screen output of the twenties and thirties, together with the text of longer chapters on education and democracy. Grierson writes a racy prose, perspicacious and rich in humor.

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HAVE ARABS RIGHT?

(*Continued from page 57*)

of enforcement does not belong to the General Assembly, nor is it applicable for the enforcement of an Assembly resolution. It applies only to a threat to the peace, and can only be taken after a decision by the Security Council that such a threat exists.

Still another situation would appear if individuals, rather than states, should resist by force the establishment of the system called for by the Assembly resolution. The task of controlling such persons in Palestine would ordinarily belong to the British Government, but it has said that it would withdraw from that responsibility by next August or before. Who, then, could step in to fill the vacuum? There is little doubt that the UN can provide the armed forces which it might need to protect and uphold any decision which it has a right to enforce; but an Assembly resolution provides no such right. The states which are to be created will presumably set up their own armed forces to maintain order and protect themselves; and these forces could possibly come into conflict.

In either case—whether violence between individuals or conflict between the new states—only the Security Council could intervene, and only after it had decided that a threat to the peace existed. Granted such a decision, the Security Council could doubtless establish its own police force to watch over the area, if the General Assembly were willing to appropriate the money to maintain it. If it should take the method of calling upon Members for armed forces, it would have to obtain the consent of these Members, upon whom it calls, since the agreements under Article 43 have not yet been made.

Other questions may arise. Suppose that no government should be set up in the Arab area, who would be responsible for that area? Again, if and when the new states have been recognized as independent members of UN, would they then be bound to accept the conditions imposed by the Assembly resolution? Will a treaty be needed to provide for legally clear status for the future?

BOOKS (*continued*)

The book is in effect both a book by and about Grierson—a running narrative by Hardy who knew his work at the Empire Marketing Board and the Film Unit of the General Post Office in Great Britain. The sparkle of Bernard Shaw's dramatic and musical criticism, the same demand for excellence, and for social purpose as the basis of esthetics, is reflected in Grierson's appreciations of actors, directors, script writers. No critic has understood so well as Grierson the financial organization and the political implications and possibilities of the most universal of all art forms. When he was a public official, this development of the camera tool as means of communication with illiterate masses and masses literate in hundreds of languages, and his passionate belief that the screen is proper means for people to show themselves and their problems to one another, and to acquaint men with the beauty of earth, mark him as statesman. The book is pungent reading.

Europe

THE VON HASSELL DIARIES, 1938-1944. New York, Doubleday & Co. $5.00.

War is above all the wrecker of communications between enemies and within the nation at war. It will take years to gather the scattered record which tells what did go on in Hitler's Reich before and during the war.

Ulrich von Hassell was German Ambassador to Italy until shortly after the Comintern Pact was signed. His opposition to the pact and the tension of his relations with Ribbentrop led to his retirement. His diaries—the first entry is Berlin, September 17, 1938, the last, Ebenhausen, July 10, 1944—describe the conspiracy against Hitler by generals and liberals, slowly woven, and a failure, which led to the execution of Carl Friedrich Goerdeler, Hellmuth von Moltke and others. The immense mass of material, involving innumerable encounters with Nazi officials, Schacht, Goering, Goebbels, reveals the sometimes moving story of a cultivated German patriot, full of anxiety to save his country, armed with courage and diplomatic technique, moving back and forth across the country and abroad to make contact with British emissaries, obliged to cast in his lot with the generals, whose distaste for Hitler grew even as they fought Hitler's war.

The diaries become part of the permanent record, beside giving a gallery of characters, whose vacillation, will and interest almost shortened the war.

What is plain is that no group within a nation at war, not the finest diplomats, or the most cultured gentlemen, can gather the necessary force to halt the fury of a police state. Only defeat, or perhaps "fanaticism" from below, as von Hassell calls it, can be effective. For lack of a general fanaticism against Hitler instead of for him, the degradation of the German people ran its course. Others may draw other conclusions. Much can be learned from the von Hassell diaries. No one can fail to admire the quiet persistence of a cultivated German caught in the Nazi maze.

Asia

DANGER FROM THE EAST by Richard E. Lauterbach. New York, Harper & Bros. $3.75.

With great acumen Lauterbach describes, from his own observations in the Far East during the latter part of 1945 and 1946, how U.S. policy is affecting the peoples of Japan, China and Korea. But in DANGER FROM THE EAST he goes far beyond the objective reporting in his two earlier books, which were on Russia. Taking time for his original impressions to attain perspective, he widened his own outlook by concentrating on Far Eastern studies. As a result he has produced a book of special significance for these days when Europe's problems seem to many more pressing than those of Asia—an evaluation of the immediate in terms of the future not only for the peoples directly concerned but also for the whole world in its relations with the Far East. And this is no stilted treatise. Warmth and color and very human persons from five star military leaders to peasants enrich the telling. One can mention only two or three dramatic highlights in passing. Emperor Hirohito turning from "God to man" is divine comedy. His effort to fall in line with U.S. suggestions that he become more "human" and mingle with his people—this half-pathetic, withdrawn, drooping little person, as described in the book—is epic in its possibilities for Charlie Chaplin at his finest. The picture of the Chiangs at home when Lauterbach accompanied a Chinese official and *Life's* photographer, has a slightly *Alice in Wonderland* flavor. The humor is quietly sustained, with a bit of malice for underpropping. Unforgettable, too, is the author's visit to Manchuria with one of the first "peace" teams.

The majority of U.S. citizens have settled into a comfortably complacent mood about the occupation of Japan and the Japanese acceptance of democracy. But the author, out of reach of the rigid SCAP censorship, disagrees with this view. While he believes that MacArthur has done a good job in Japan—much better than other occupying forces have done in other countries—it is not good enough. According to Lauterbach, the "democracy" is pretty superficial and it would not take much to revive Emperor worship. SCAP has made little progress in fundamental educational reform essential to make democracy work. The labor unions and workers, first welcomed, were later rebuffed, and the most reactionary elements of the old regime in politics and industry are at the helm. And over all hangs the heavy and exasperating censorship of SCAP—hardly a symbol for the four freedoms. Here in

Japan, as in Korea, Lauterbach feels that much of the trouble is in the wrong type of local occupation officials. His scathing, rather brief section on Korea reveals the ineptness of U.S. officials and their acceptance of the same kind of Koreans who worked for the hated Japanese rule. Of northern Korea he can speak only through filtered sources. The section on China gives one of the most complete and illuminating accounts to date on Marshall's efforts to bring China together.

The real point, according to Lauterbach, is that "the men who plan and execute our global policy today are not primarily trained to understand the bases for peace." The emphasis has been too military. The U.S. has the means if it will, to modernize China immediately. Russia has not. "Tomorrow's Asia cannot be America's nor can it be Russia's." It is up to the U.S. and to a strengthened UN to bring a modernized Asia into the world orbit.

USSR

THE UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA, by Vera Micheles Dean. Cambridge, Harvard University Press. $3.00.

Russian born and a naturalized U.S. Citizen, Vera Micheles Dean has been for some years the Russian specialist for the Foreign Policy Association. Mrs. Dean performs a service that comes at the right moment, provided she is as widely read as she deserves. Cool, objective and scholarly, she has a way of soothing, if not dissolving the United States' fears of Russia. In outlining Russia's historical background, she shows that many things the Russians are doing today date back to the time of the Czars. She writes briefly but frankly of the people and the political and economic systems, never evasive, never attempting to flavor facts to make them more digestible, for American acceptance. The sections on Russia's foreign policy and its "stake in world affairs" are illuminating and instructive. "What marks Russia today is not so much that it is either uncommonly nationalistic or uncommonly propagandist in its foreign policy," Mrs. Dean says, "but that it is telescoping developments which in Western countries were spread over centuries. As a result its impact on the world has all the force of a delayed explosive."

Mrs. Dean does not believe war is inevitable between the United States and Russia and points out some ways to avert such a disaster, among them a greater knowledge of Russia, a greater knowledge of the position of the United States in world affairs and recognition of basic issues, such for example as that civil liberties, as the United States knows them, do not exist in Russia. All this sounds very fine and reasonable, but the one element left out is the uncertainty of the human factor. Perhaps this too will be solved in time and on time. In any case Mrs. Dean has written sensibly and sanely on the most emotional political subject of the day. One would like Moscow to publish an equally fair book on the United States for Russian readers.

Latin America

LANDS OF THE ANDES, Peru and Bolivia, by T. R. Ybarra. New York, Coward-McCann. $4.00.
THE RAINBOW REPUBLICS, Central America, by Ralph Hancock. New York, Coward-McCann. $4.00.
THE RIVER PLATE REPUBLICS, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, by Betty de Sherbinin. New York, Coward-McCann. $4.00.

By January North Americans in vacation mood are beginning to look over their bags and traveling accessories. This year, more than ever before, a majority of them will point their compasses south to Latin America. To them we call attention to these first three volumes in an "Invitation to Travel Series," each with just the right kind of map conveniently slipped into a neat folder, firmly fastened. The author of LANDS OF THE ANDES had a Venezuelan father and knows his South America well. He imparts much of the atmosphere of Peru from its Inca ruins and proud, if cruel, Spanish history to the living Indians and descendants of old Spanish families today. He points to cathedrals and architecture. At the same time he tells where the best hotels are and the best food and what is most essential to see in Peru and Bolivia, so important for tourists.

Betty de Sherbinin was brought up in Buenos Aires, so naturally she handles the best points of that city and its environs with a special glow. She also describes the pampas and the lake region in considerable detail for tourists who are taking their visit in a leisurely fashion. Paraguay and Uruguay are served in condensed form in THE RIVER PLATE REPUBLICS but the author singles out points of interest, ways of travel and hotels for the more adventurous, although anyone would be tempted to linger at some of Uruguay's famous seaside resorts.

In THE RAINBOW REPUBLICS Ralph Hancock, who is associated with Lowell Brentano in the preparation of the whole series, puts the concentrated experience of his fifteen years as a news correspondent in Central America plus his many exploring expeditions at the service of the prospective visitor to the little republics. His book contains a wealth of material and good advice for the traveler. In all three volumes the facts, travel routes, internal methods of transportation and general information are up-to-date and accurate. Most travelers with little time to spare are likely to take to the air, since, for example, Lima, two weeks away from New York by sea, is now only 24 hours distant by plane.

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notes from the

GRASS ROOTS

THIS Fall, between September 15 and November 23, more than one hundred and twenty thousand people visited the Brooklyn Museum in New York City to see a photographic exhibit entitled "Our Road to Peace," prepared by the UN Department of Public Information. Among the visitors were thousands of school children and high school and college students as well as groups of twenty-five or more from such organizations as the Catholic Teachers Association, the American Legion and the Brooklyn Women's Bar Association. At the same time, duplicates of the exhibit have been on display at the UNESCO Conference in Mexico City and in Edinburgh.

In its historical section, the exhibit shows how one after another past attempts to achieve peace in Europe failed because the rights of individuals were not recognized, social and economic problems remained unsolved, people continued fearful, and, most important of all, might was believed to be more important than right. The exhibit then shows by means of photographs and graphic illustration how the various organs of the UN work to achieve world unity.

For a six-week period beginning January 1st the exhibit will be on display at the Buffalo Museum of Sciences. In the course of this year it will be shown in all the principal cities of the United States and in many countries of the world.

Mrs. Ambrose Diehl, International Relations Chairman of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, has done a fine thing for the clubwomen of America—and for UNW. She has asked UNW to invite each State Chairman, at Mrs. Diehl's express request, to make UNW's study program and club subscription plan available to all members.

• Under the auspices of Dr. T. H. P. Sailer, Englewood, N. J. has organized a UN Club, and UNW is being used as source material for discussion groups. George B. Sadler, Associate Publisher of UNW, is chairman of the Discussion Committee.

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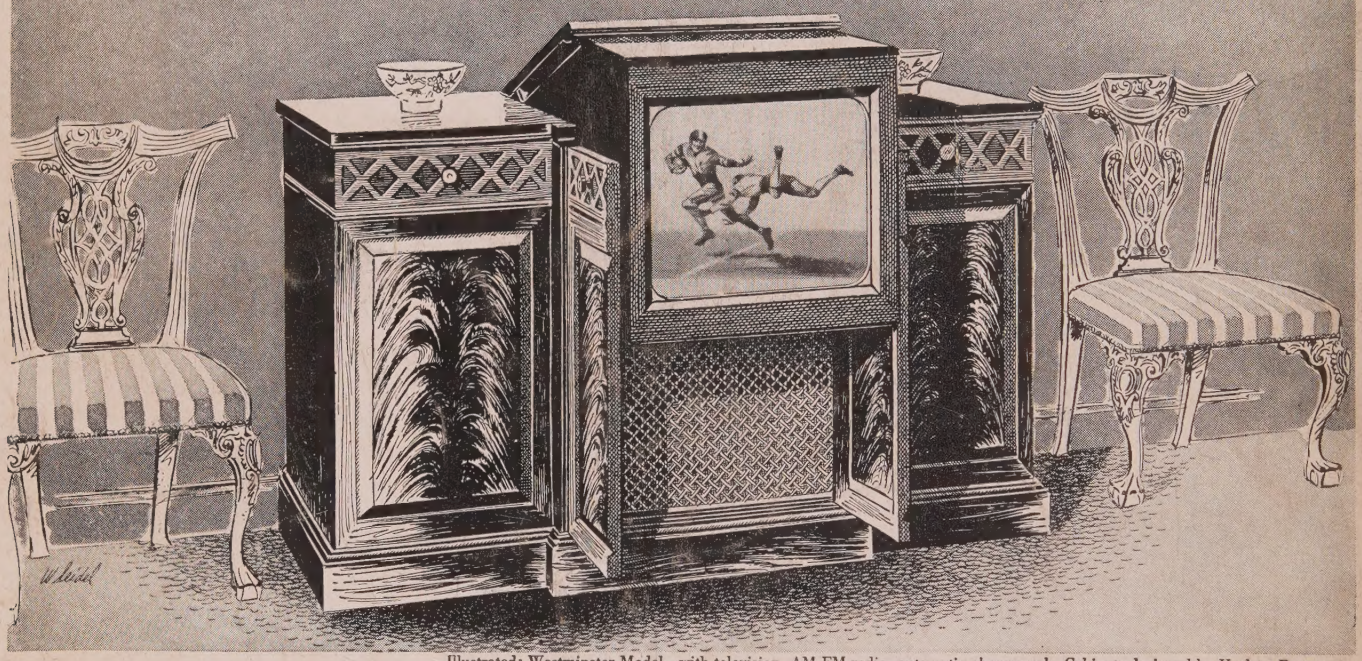

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